

Amami Oshima and the northern islands being directly ceded, the others agreeing to vassalage. 175
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From this time until the seventh decade of the nineteenth century, the Ryukyu kingdom existed, acknowledging both suzerainty of China and vassalage to Satsuma in a twilight of sovereignty which statecraft and the political realities of the time did not find it necessary to resolve.

During this period of contact with other countries, an intrusion of an entirely different order, but what must have been of revolutionary consequence, was the introduction of the sweet potato in 1605. "In the 10th year /1605/ Noguni Tsunkwan imported sweet potatoes from China. Mashi Gima Uyakata Shinjo obtaining them, planted them in the fields, and in a few years they were raised all over the islands.¹⁶ In view of the widespread reluctance of peoples to adopt new foods, the swift acceptance of the sweet potato is noteworthy. It must have furnished the means of subsistence for a much greater population. The topography, the soils, the fewness of valleys, alluvial plains, and marsh land could not have permitted the growth of rice to feed great masses of people as in China and Japan. This dependence on the sweet potato has persisted to this day. Modern accounts mention the reliance of the ordinary Okinawan on the sweet potato, and in times of stress on the sago palm, or cycad. Rice is seldom if ever mentioned as the food of the common people. 175
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Scarcely had the sweet potato reached Okinawa, when it was carried to Japan. At first it was known as the kara-mumu (Okinawan) or Karaimo (Japanese), that is the Chinese potato. When it reached Satsuma in Kyūshū, it became known as the Luchuan potato; as it spread northward and eastward in Japan, the Japanese, believing the plant to be a native of southern Japan, called it the Satsuma potato (satsuma imo), and it is by this last name that the sweet potato is known in Okinawa to this day.¹⁷

4

Inertia from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries 175
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The period 1609 to 1871, when the Japanese took their initial steps toward the eventual incorporation of the island of Okinawa within the empire, was a quiescent one, continuing a pattern of life already set. The ideals of the Confucian state were strong. In the 17th century, it [642]

16 Quoted from a manuscript history in C. S. Leavemorth, The history of the Loochoo Islands, 88. "Native historians," says Chamberlain, "inform us that it was acclimatized in Luchu and passed into common use within the short period of four years after its first introduction." No further sources are given. Chamberlain, as cited, 302.

17 On the fortunes of the sweet potato in Japan, see Rein, The industries of Japan, London, 1889, 65.

349 Co-operation often takes the form of a division of labor. In building an elaborate permanent house with cement foundations, siding, plank flooring and a tile roof, greater skills than the handyman techniques of a smaller house are required. In the building of a house, men with special skills, such as a carpenter, a cement mixer, a stonecutter, or a mason participate; others bring lumber and wood from the mountains, as in Matsuda, or lay the grass on the tile roof. In some cases, all the labor may be donated; in others, the carpenter, the cement mixer, the stonecutter may be hired, with helper's work done by volunteers. In simpler construction, the carpentry may be done by anyone who has this secondary skill but is primarily a farmer or a fisherman. People who have those skills are said to have half and half occupations (hannochangyō in Japanese).

7

Housebuilding Ceremonies

349 In building, a distinction is made between a temporary and a permanent house. A temporary house may be built following a typhoon or a fire, or it may be constructed for a poor man and in fact be a permanent house for the family, the good house to come being more an aspiration than an early reality. The marks of a permanent house are construction with beams, instead of poles, good siding, a good roof, now mostly of tile, a design based on mat size, and a cemented kitchen. Housebuilding ceremonies and celebrations apply only to the permanent house.

349 Ceremonies or observances during stages in the building of a house differ from place to place and among people in the same village. In Matsuda before the house is started, the owner, his friends, and neighbors gather and offer a prayer that the house be a good and a happy one. Before construction, and once each year following completion, rice cakes (mochi in Japanese) and sake are placed in each of the four corners of the house site. Three rice cakes are put on the smallest of three saucers which fit into one another. Two of these saucer sets with the rice cakes, together with a sake bottle and a small cup are placed on a tray. The east, north, west, and south corners are visited in that order. Sake is poured from the flask to a small cup. There is a short prayer. A piece of white paper, attached to a stick of dwarf bamboo (Yanbaru take) about one foot long is burned. The sake is poured over the embers. The top rice cake is placed on the corner; the other two remain on the small plate. Prayers are offered for protection against the deadly snake (habu). The rice cake is then picked up. On the next corner, the ceremony is repeated.

183 When the ridge pole is put up, the carpenter prays that there will be no injuries. Observances at the raising of the roof (muneage in Okinawan) seem to be universal in the villages. Three parcels, one of salt, one of bean paste, and one of charcoal are wrapped in a leaf--any will do--and these are tied with a string and suspended from the inner side of the crossbeam or from the ridge pole. There are no prayers at this time.

this time. Upon completing the house, the owner gives a party for those who helped him. During the last day of work, with the party scheduled for the evening, the workmen strive feverishly to complete the house on time. This is a party to celebrate a task completed. Sake flows freely. Occasionally on the last day, a man walks around the house talking to himself and throws salt toward the inside of the house. His words are not formalized and not known to his hearers. After finishing throwing the salt, he bangs the back of the house three times with a stick. This custom is said to be gradually disappearing, and is only occasionally practiced in Matsuda.⁹

In Hanashiro, there is a similar custom that differs in details. On the date the house is started, there is a small ceremony. A plate containing boiled rice, bean curd, a kind of fritter (tempura in Japanese) and meat, together with a flask of sake are placed in the center of the site on which the house is to be built. Prayers are offered that the house be a good one. The ceremony of raising the roof is identical with that previously described in Matsuda. This applies only to the raising of the ridge pole, no ceremonies taking place with the erecting of the side poles. The center board, near to or nailed to the ridge pole, and from which the articles wrapped in a leaf or in sea weed are suspended, is inscribed with the word, shibiranka. Its meaning is unknown to me. One villager said it was the name of a legendary Chinese protector of houses.

In one instance from Minatogawa, instead of the salt, charcoal, and bean paste, only a bit of charcoal (tsumi in Japanese) was suspended and wrapped in seaweed (kombu in Japanese).

About 20 years ago in Hanashiro, the celebration on the day of completion was much more elaborate than now. A pig was killed, fish purchased, and a large feast was prepared to which the whole village was invited. The celebration now is confined to relatives, friends, and helpers, including the carpenter, whether hired or a volunteer.

In Minatogawa, when a good house is being built, there is the custom of going to a fortune teller (sanjinsō in Japanese) to discover the lucky day for commencing construction. This may be repeated to find the lucky day for putting up the poles and supports or putting on the roof. Here also a son about to establish a branch household and to build his own house takes a food offering to his father's house, places it on the Buddhist god shelf, gives thanks, and prays for good fortune before construction starts. When the house has been completed, similar offerings are made, either before the god shelf of the new house, if it has been installed, or again at the father's house. In this village, the usual observances are confined to the raising of the roof and to the celebration following completion of the house.

One last custom observed in all the villages is that one does not move into a new house unless the tide is coming in. Other occasions in which the tide is taken into consideration will be discussed later. The idea here seems to be that one moves at times of growing fullness and increase not at times of ebb and withdrawal.

⁹ I was unable to secure any explanation of the reason for this and the other practices beyond the familiar statement that "it is a custom."
(shukan)

2

Introduction

The basic occupation of the Okinawans has been and continues to be agriculture. The agricultural, not the fishing, wood gathering, or stonecutting community is typical. Fishing, stonecutting and forestry have been the occupations of certain villages or areas, or of certain groups within a village. This and the following chapter describe these ways of living. 463

Agricultural practices gathered from Hanashiro, Nagano (to some extent), and Matsuda will be presented in this chapter. Minatogawa has been omitted because it is primarily a fishing and stonecutting community, and there is nothing distinctive or unusual in its agriculture. This presentation avoids the repetitive description of similar activities that would follow from a discussion of each village separately. Significant differences, where they appear, will be mentioned, and in this manner, I hope, the identities of the individual villages will not be lost, despite the topical arrangement. 128

Okinawan agriculture is basically the story of four crops: rice, sweet potatoes, the soy bean, and sugar cane. Rice is a minor crop. Not all farmers grow it, and rice consumption rests both on homegrown products and imports. Individual farmers occasionally grow both to sell and for home use. Today it is less of a luxury than it was before the war because of the imports and the home grown crop. In Okinawa two crops a year are possible. 241
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The sweet potato is the main crop. Cultivation continues throughout the year. Potatoes often are dug on a day to day basis as required for human or animal consumption. At any one time, the patches of sweet potatoes owned by a farmer may represent all stages of growth from a fresh transplanted field to a patch ready for digging. The sweet potato is the cheapest all purpose food, both for human and animal consumption. Okinawans tire of it because poverty enforces such frequent consumption. Since the war, the increased availability of rice for home use, and the opportunities of purchasing rice have relieved this complete dependence on the sweet potato. Among some families, though these are still few, the sweet potato has become the food of animals, with only select ones used at the table. But for the great majority the sweet potato still is the basic article of diet. It is cheap and easy to cultivate either by men or women. Little can be realized from its sale.

Soy beans are grown for home consumption. Making bean curd in the home is universal. Brown sugar is produced as a cash crop. Some is used in the home as a confection both for adults and children. [432]
[263]

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262 These crops do not exhaust their agriculture. Wheat and barley are grown, but not in significant quantities. Varieties of beans other than the soybean are important. Pumpkins and gourds of various kinds make valuable food supplements. The onion, the carrot, and the giant horse radish are grown for home use, occasionally for sale. More unusual products, such as the taro, are grown less frequently and then only for side dishes at meals.

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[177] In their agricultural work, farmers prefer the lunar (kyūreki, literally, old calendar) to the western, solar (seireki) calendar. The lunar calendar was abolished for official purposes by the Japanese in 1874. While this change was introduced into Okinawa, the lunar calendar still has vitality in the countryside. The present published calendars show with a large numeral the day in the western count, but in each block, in smaller script, is the corresponding lunar date:

JANUARY	1952
1	
12th Month	5th day

Births, deaths, official correspondence are recorded in the western count. The farmer, however, thinks in terms of the lunar calendar. When he says he plants his sweet potatoes in May, he means May by the lunar count.

Western Solar and Lunar Day Equivalents

<u>Western</u>	<u>1951, Year of the Hare</u>	<u>Lunar Count</u> <u>1952, Year of the Dragon</u>
Jan 1	Nov 24	Dec 5
Feb 1	Dec 25	Jan 6
Mar 1	Jan 24	Feb 6
Apr 1	Feb 25	Mar 7
May 1	Mar 26	Apr 8
Jun 1	Apr 27	May 9*
Jul 1	May 27	May 10*
Aug 1	Jun 29	Jun 11
Sept 1	Aug 1	Jul 12
Oct 1	Sep 1	Aug 13
Nov 1	Oct 3	Sep 14
Dec 1	Nov 3	Oct 15

* The period from May 24 to June 21, 1952, western calendar, corresponds to the lunar May 1 to May 29. The fifth month is then repeated beginning June 22 and ending July 21, western count. This intercalary month is necessary because the lunar year is about 355 days long. As a consequence about 11 days are lost each year, and an additional month is required every third year.

HANASHIRO

TENTH MONTH
(Oct 30-Nov 28)

MATSUDA

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Possible beginning of second rice harvest, though this is early. Planting rice in seed bed. Sow sweet potato slips.

Sow peas (andō-mame) and beans. Plant sweet potato slips if rain. Sow giant radish (daikon), tomatoes, barley. Weeding of radishes, and vegetables planted previous month until the 25th. Rice cutting begins.

ELEVENTH MONTH
(Nov 29-Dec 27)

Continuation of the rice harvest. Threshing and milling. Planting of sugar cane, slantwise. Sow cabbage seed. Rice seed planting begins, or continues if begun in the 10th month.

Rice cutting and harvest. Threshing and milling. Rice fields dug up. Preparation of new fields.

TWELFTH MONTH
(Dec 28-Jan 26)

Sugar making. Sow Irish potatoes (bareishe) but in small quantities

Continue digging up rice fields. Rice sown in seed beds after seed testing. Sugar making may begin.

YEAR ROUND ACTIVITIES

Sweet Potato Planting, Transplanting and Harvesting continues throughout the year, depending on time and distribution of rain-fall.

4

Rice Cultivation

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Growing rice is a most exacting task. The period from the time the seed bed is prepared until the final milling is one of tedious work and continuous apprehension. The reaction of Okinawan farmers to rice cultivation perhaps was best summed up by a Matsuda farmer who said, "Everyone dislikes the work, but rice is delicious."

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Assuming that the field is already in existence, the cultivation of rice may be divided into the following stages: (1) preparation and laying out of the seed bed, (2) selection of the seed, (3) transplanting

One of these, the shimba (nnihija in Okinawan) is essentially a concave forked piece of metal set on a frame, which in turn rests on four props set up in sawbuck fashion. The rice sheaves are drawn through the teeth, causing the kernels to drop below. The sawbuck may be any desired height. Usually the top of the fork is waist level. The only significance of the shimba today is that it provides diversion and occupation for the old women, many of whom are too weak or too unsteady to operate the treadle thresher. The same is true of an even simpler device for threshing. Two short pieces of bamboo, or any piece of round wood, a little longer and with a slightly greater diameter than a pair of chopsticks, are loosely tied together on one end with straw or a strong blade of grass. The tied ends of the two sticks are held in the right hand, leaving the free ends to strip off the rice kernels from the straw. This labor is done by very old women. Age is no deterrent to work as long as people are able to get around. But, as in the south, the treadle thresher is universally used. This device was widely distributed by the Japanese agricultural specialists of the government throughout the empire in the years immediately before the war. In Matsuda, it is also thought to be about 15 years since its introduction. 243 407 [887]

As in Japan, from which the terms were borrowed, rice in various stages of cultivation and processing is known by different names. Rice in the hull is momei; unpolished rice is genmei, and polished rice is hakumei. Rice stalks are known as wara. 824 192

Hulling and polishing rice by machinery are also new in Okinawan villages. In Hanashiro, those machines driven by an open belt are about ten years old. A hand mill, the shiriushi, to be described shortly, was in general use for polishing rice up to 1940. 256

At present everyone, no matter how poor, pays for hulling and polishing of his rice. The mill owner in Hanashiro estimated that the machinery processed in ten minutes the amount of rice that formerly took a day to hull and polish by hand. Poor families do not try to effect savings by hand work. They pay the fee, sell the polished rice, and eat sweet potatoes. [511] [262]

Unpolished rice is disliked and is never eaten. It is described as hard and bitter in taste. The machinery in a rice mill varies from place to place in quality and modernity. The mill (seimaisho) has two machines: a hulling machine (momitsuriki) and a polishing machine (seimaiki). One simple type of a hulling machine is an endless chain type of mechanism. The rice is put in little buckets on the chain which carry it to rubber layers. As the rice is forced through the layers, the hulls are cracked and pinched off, and are then blown out on a pile in back. After being hulled, the rice goes through the shaft of the milling machine. The shaft housing is grooved. As the shaft revolves, it polishes the rice which is going through it. The shaft also gets heated, and this makes the polishing easier. In the older machine in Hanashiro, the rice was put through the shaft ten times

Rice may also be polished by the use of rude wooden mallets. These have a handle about 3 feet long and a head about 1 1/2 feet long. Rice is placed in a mortar with straw on top. It is pounded, often by two or three women swinging alternately. After the hulls are removed, the rice is winnowed, and put back in the mortar until a rough polish is secured.

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Uses of rice. Every part of the rice plant has a use. The stubble, left in the ground, becomes a part of next season's fertilizer. The chaff and waste dust (nuka) is saved for pigs, cows, and other domestic animals. The hulls often are used for fertilizer, before or after burning. Rice straw has a variety of uses. The most frequent and important of these is for making rope.

824

After threshing, the straw is dried two or three days. Three or four stalks of about the same length are taken and rolled between the palms. The lower palm, usually the left, is open and up. The right palm rolls the straw into a twist. As the rope grows, new stalks are inserted one at a time, and, when needed, a new length of straw is added. This is not a strong rope, but it has a variety of uses, such as tying down the grass thatch to the roof poles, children's swings, and clothes lines. Mats and pads shaped like a life saver and used to set the sugar pots on after the sugar has been boiled, are made out of rice straw. Another use is in the making of the oda (Okinawan). This is a mesh about one foot wide and two feet long. There are loops on each corner. The end of a pole may be inserted in these loops when gathered together. The pole is carried over the shoulder, and sweet potatoes, straw, or other articles may be easily transported. Simple brooms without a handle, little more than a bunch of straw tied together in three places are also made of rice straw. Twisting and braiding rice straw is likely to be rainy day work. These articles are most often made twice in the year, corresponding with the harvests.

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At typhoon times, if rice is not completely destroyed, the damaged rice may be used for pig food. The preparation of this rice is women's work. The rice is put in a mortar and pounded with a mallet in the manner already described, although a single operator usually does the work.

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Types and preferences. As a general rule, the selection of varieties of rice for planting depends on taste, the nature of the soils, and individual judgment of the expected yield of each type. In Matsuda, it is estimated that about one half of the rice is the Formosan variety, Taichu 65 (Taichu rokujugo), in Okinawa known as horai. Another variety, Unigard 11 (Unigard ichigo) represents about one-fourth of the crop. Nochigone (akaho) takes up about another one-fourth. This glutinous rice has a brown reddish rust colored kernel and is used for rice cakes. A fourth variety, horai-nochinai, is also well liked. No black rice is grown here.

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In addition to these varieties, cultivated locally, imported rice is distributed through the import stores. These rices generally are from Egypt, Siam, and Burma. They are not well liked and are considered to be tough (katai). Whether this is because the variety itself is disliked or because the imports were of a poor quality is hard to say, but Egyptian, Siamese, and Burmese rice are unfavorably compared with Japanese, Formosan, or the locally grown products. Okinawans are very sensitive to the types of rice. There is no such thing as "rice." Long habituation and fondness for special kinds have induced tastes and preferences which each villager is quick to express.

In Hanashiro, the main type of rice planted is also the Taichu 65, a variety which originated in Formosa, and is generally preferred. The red variety, mochigome, does not do well here, according to local farmers, and just a little is grown. Mochigome (literally, rice-cake rice) is used in making the doughy and gummy rice cakes.

5

The Sweet Potato

The cultivation of the sweet potato (satsuma imo) is a much simpler undertaking than rice culture. Fields are prepared by hand hoeing. The plow and the harrow are not used. In sweet potato cultivation, seed potatoes are first planted in a small plot. This furnishes slips or transplants for other fields. Slips are multiplied by using the tops of one field to plant another. Propagation thus is by clones, and this vegetatively reproduced plant is the mainstay of the diet.

The potato seed bed, well hoed and fertilized, is generally planted in the spring. The tops to be used as slips (kasura) are cut off and planted in rows. Practice has brought deftness in this transplanting. A small amount of soil is lifted up by the spatula, (hera), and held so that an opening rather than a hole appears. The slip is shoved into the aperture and quickly pressed down by the left heel, as the farmer moves to the next planting.⁵ Few tools are used in the cultivation of the sweet potato. Only the hoe and the spatula are really needed. Occasionally one finds a special hoe with a sharp angle between the blade and handle or a heart shaped hoe with a long handle. In the Hanashiro and Nagamo areas, the solid bladed hoe is the commonest tool. Two and three pronged hoes are less often used because of the hardness of the soil.

The cultivation of the sweet potato, as we have said, is a year round operation, though planting may slacken off during the winter months.

5 Methods of cultivation have changed little in the past 100 years. The same operation is described in Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 31-32.

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[132]

months. The amount of sweet potatoes grown is not closely related to the season. It depends much more on rainfall.

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The effects of typhoons on the plant are most noticeable after transplanting. Salt water spray shrivels the transplants up and they die without developing. These conditions are more noticeable near the seashore in areas like Nagamo that lack trees and tidewater shelters.

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Like rice, all of the sweet potato plant is used. Plant residues are turned under to fertilize the soil. This turning under of the vines or their use in composts is a doubtful blessing if the plants are diseased. The good potatoes are reserved for human consumption. The poor or the diseased ones are mashed up in a stone mortar with a long pole, used like a pestle, for pig and goat food. Besides using the tops as slips, women constantly cut them off for fresh greens for the pigs. The sweet potato is the basic food because it is cheap, can be grown the year round in lowlands and uplands, and can be cultivated by all members of the family. As pig food, it is a means of inexpensively raising animals which later have cash value. The feeding and care of pigs is usually one of the incidental chores of women.

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The varieties most commonly found in these Okinawan villages are the Okinawan #100 (Okinawan no hyakugo) and varieties known locally as the Bento, a small round tuber, and the bokuto. The two chief differences between the northern and southern villages in cultivating the sweet potato are (1) the two and three pronged hoes are much more in evidence in the north. With practice, they can be used advantageously in quickly weeding a plot while not cutting the potato itself. (2) Matsuda appears to be less dependent on the sweet potato as a human food. The farmer here has more rice for himself and a greater proportion of his sweet potato crop goes for animal food.

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6

The Planting of Sugar Cane and Sugar Making

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Sugar cane (kibi) is grown on dry crop land, its rows often alternating on the same plot with the sweet potato. Cane may be started with cuttings, or it may be a second growth (ratoon) from the stubs of the old plant after it has been cut down for crushing. Cuttings may be purchased or selected plants from another planting are used. The slips are cut to leave three buds. These cuttings may be planted in three ways: (1) all horizontally, (2) horizontally with the cutting which comes from the topmost part of the stalk planted slantwise, or (3) all cuttings may be planted slanting.

The soil must be thoroughly worked with the ever present hoe. Plowing and harrowing are rarely done. The earth must be thoroughly fertilized. In addition, small amounts of compost may be placed under the cutting, and less often liquid night soil might be used.

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 [262] Soy beans have three main uses: soy sauce which is seldom made
 [432] in the home, bean curd (tōfu) and miso, a bean paste, both always
 [462] home made. For this reason, soy beans are grown mostly for home use,
 [494] with the surplus sold. In Hanashiro, where the surpluses are greater,
 the beans may be sold in Naha, Shuri, or Itoman. Women do the selling,
 taking the beans to market on the buses, trucks, or three wheeled
 vehicles.

241
 262 (2) Other types of beans such as the red dwarf bean (asuki)
 (Phaseolus angularis Wight), the kidney bean (ingen in Japanese,
Phaseolus vulgaris L), the broad or horse bean (soyama in Japanese,
Vicia faba L), and peas (endō in Japanese, Pisum sativum L) are
 grown for home use, usually in parcels which are closest to the house.

[263] (3) The giant radish, (daikon in Japanese, Raphanus sativus L)
 [252] is, after the soy bean, the most important of the minor crops grown
 for home use. This is the vegetable most favored either as a condiment,
 or as a side dish. It is eaten sliced raw, pickled, or fried in
 strips in soy sauce. When eaten boiled, its flavor resembles that of
 a turnip.

[231] (5) The pumpkin (Cucurbita pepo L) called nanka or kabocha,
 the latter name being derived from the word Cambodia from which the
 pumpkin was introduced into Japan. They are harvested in summer, and
 one crop a year, generally for home use, is grown. If the flesh
 becomes too ripe and turns reddish and sweet, it is not relished and
 the pumpkin is fed to the pigs.

(6) The cucumber (kiuri in Japanese, Cucumis sativus L) is a
 very minor crop. In none of the villages were they generally grown,
 and then only for home use.

[184] (7) The hechina or tōgwa in Japanese, subui in Okinawan.⁷ This
 [221] is very large and cylindrical. In exceptional specimens, its outward
 [252] appearance is indistinguishable from the water melon. Its flesh is
 [251] white. In the two southern villages, the tōgwa is grown very sparingly.
 In Matsuda and the surrounding villages, it is more common. Here it is
 used to fill in during times of food shortage. Some specimens I have
 seen weighed over 100 pounds. It is planted after lunar New Years,
 harvested in the 6th or 7th lunar month, a period reaching from about
 January to May. From April to July, when other vegetables are scarce,
 it is often used as a substitute. The flesh when boiled is rather
 tasteless; it is commonly boiled and served with chunks of meat. The
tōgwa, in the northern villages, is often stored in dark cool places
 away from the sunlight, often under the house. If not cut open, the
 melon can be saved for a year.

7 I am not certain whether this is Luffa cylindrica Roem, Luffa
petola, Ser, the Luffa sponge, rag gourd, etc., whose pulp disappears
 when ripe to be replaced by a web of fibres.

melon can be saved for a year. It is also served raw with vinegar and sugar dressing, often mixed with another vegetable to make a salad called nanasugwa in Okinawan. 241
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[252]

(8) The burdock (gobo) is also very minor and usually grown for home use. It is boiled when eaten.

(9) The carrot (ninjin) is a minor crop.

(10) The trumpet or bottle gourd (yūgao) is only grown in Matsuda and for home use as a summer food. [184]

(11) Spinach (hōrensō), onions (negi), Chinese lettuce (hakusai) are not uncommon. Spinach, lettuce (chisi), and onions do not have the importance either as a crop or a food that they have with us.

(12) The taro (satoimo in Japanese, Colocasia esculenta Schott) can occasionally be seen growing in Hanashiro or Matsuda, often on the edge of a rice field. It is known locally also as taino and apparently is the same as the Japanese dasheen. The taro is used as a side dish.

(13) The Irish potato (bareisho) is occasionally grown for sale. [432]

(14) Cabbage (tamana) is partly a cash, partly a home use crop. It is also minor. Some Okinawans like cabbage and grow it for their own use, but many dislike it and sell the crop.

(15) The grains are an unimportant part of village agriculture. The most common are barley (ōmugi), wheat (komugi) and millet. (hugi is a general term for grain. The ō means large, the ko, small, referring to the kernels of the two grains). [193]

Although comparable statistics were not available for each of the villages, the following table from Hanashiro clearly shows the relative importance of the major crops: 241
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HANASHIRO
Crop Acreages, 1950

Crop	Area in Cho ^{a/}	Percent of Total
Rice	10.89	100.0
Total Dry Crop Land	59.88	100.0
Sweet Potatoes	35.86	59.9
Soy Beans	13.63	22.8
Sugar Cane	5.41	9.0
Beans and Peas (excluding soy)	2.30	3.9
Wheat	1.80	3.0
Millet	0.50	0.8
Vegetables	0.38	0.6

24) a/ A ch is 3000 tsubo, or about 2.45 acres.

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[809] Source: Agricultural Section, Gushichan Village Office, Gushichan-son, Okinawa, September 1951.

In Ginoza-son, statistics for crops on an individual village basis were only obtainable in part. Some Matsuda figures which were available indicate that rice, the sweet potato, and sugar cane were the most important of the crops:

Rice lands	82,151 <u>tsubo</u> (about 27.4 <u>ch</u>)
Summer planting: 58,000	
Fall planting: 54,000	
112,000 <u>tsubo</u> , including double cropping.	
Dry Crop Land	188,305 <u>tsubo</u> (about 62.8 <u>ch</u>)
Sugar Cane:	
Summer planting 2170 <u>tsubo</u>	
Spring planting 6840 " "	
9010 <u>tsubo</u>	

The greater part of the remaining dry crop land is believed to be in sweet potatoes.

8

Native Uncultivated Plants of Use to Man (Other than Forest Trees)

824 In the south, trees such as the banyan (gajimaru), the Japanese redwood (sugi), and the usuki are important within the village as windbreaks. The importance of miscanthus sinensis, often called kaya or susuki, has already been mentioned. Certain plants, used for medicinal purposes, are becoming scarce and are being displaced by modern drugs, but have some interest. Other plants, formerly used in home industries for weaving and making straw sandals, have also declined in importance in the villages.

In the south one of the most interesting associations is that of the Ryukyuan pine (Pinus ryukyuensis), the cycad (sotetsu in Japanese, Cycas revoluta, Thunb.) and Chinese silver grass (miscanthus sinensis). The Ryukyu pine in this area is little more than a shrub. It has some uses for firewood and for minor construction, but the lumber for substantial houses comes from the northern forests.

The cycad, now rather uncommon in this area, has had several uses. The whole plant may be a windbreak or be used for firewood. A form of starch (renoun in Japanese, kuzu in Okinawan) is made from this plant, a food traditionally used in time of great hardship or crop failure.

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The starch comes from two sources; the large oval seed, ranging from orange to Chinese red when mature, and the stalk. Use of the stalk involves destruction of the plant. According to Gushichan area residents, the starch of the cycad seed was used for food in 1945, 1946, and parts of 1947. Timing is an important part of the starch making because at certain stages of development the cycad is poisonous. Today in areas where the cycad is plentiful, the seeds are still gathered and dried in large quantities. Toward the end of November in Oku and in the nearby mountain village of Hedo, and in other villages of the far north of the island, large quantities of cycad seeds can be seen drying in the compounds. In the Hanashiro and Minatogawa area, the cycad is not plentiful enough and is too scattered for these uses. 824 262

The main uses of Miscanthus are: (1) roof thatch, including the saddle back which caps the roof, (2) firewood, (3) the younger shoots for animal food, (4) fertilizer, (5) a raw material for home weaving of baskets and slings for carrying vegetables. 824

Miscanthus can be seen to best advantage in December when it is in full bloom and covers large areas of the uncultivated countryside. Considering the present economic situation in the south, these plentiful grasses are indispensable to daily living. One must see, from day to day and with his own eyes, the dependence on these wild grasses to appreciate the force of this statement.

In the southern area studied, one consequence of the war on the natural vegetation was the spread of the grasses at the expense of the pine and the cycad. Residents of the Hanashiro, Gushichan, and Minatogawa areas have said that prior to the war, the Ryukyuan pine was plentiful and covered hill and mountain sides now quite bare, save for an occasional scrub tree. These trees were destroyed by bombing and firing. There are occasional evidences of regrowth due to natural seeding, but the clumps are small, and nothing like a stand is growing. The stands even before the war, however, must have been inconsequential compared with descriptions of the area fifty years ago given by old residents of the area. The present deforestation of large parts of southern Okinawa seems to have accelerated in the recent past. 137 727

The cycad had a similar fate in the south. The plants are numerous in the sense that one can always be observed on a walk. They grow in clumps, often alongside the pandanus. The grasses seem to have displaced the cycad and the pandanus as well. The dense settlement, cultivation, use of trees for firewood, and the recent war account for the uncultivated hillsides in which the grasses now predominate, and on some of which not a single tree or shrub is to be observed. The original native vegetation, perhaps, may still be preserved in the limestone sinks which occur here and there in this area. 137 [311]

In Hanashiro, the absence of trees and shrubs except in the settled areas has already been noticed. This is a characteristic of villages in the south. The treelessness of Minatogawa is exceptional.

- 824 The most common of the Hanashiro trees are (1) the banyan or gajimaru, or yusu. This tree is a common sight with its long roots growing around and through the stone fences. The tree with its roots bracing the stone fences is excellent typhoon protection for the village. (2) The usuku (Japanese scientific name, the akou) resembles the gajimaru in appearance and serves the same purpose. The fukugi (Darcinia spicata Hook) and an occasional cycad are common windbreaks. These trees are almost invariably in combination with stone fences, made of blocks, or with fences made of loose stones which have settled and been bound together by small plant roots. Village typhoon protection is a simple but effective combination of stone, shrubs, and trees. There is also an occasional kuroki (kurchi in Okinawan), from whose trunk the samisen, the stringed musical instrument, is made, and the palm (shuro).
- [731]
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- [534]

There are wild plants in each of the areas but their importance has also declined. Among these is the pandanus (the adan, Japanese scientific name, the takonoki). This plant was plentiful before the war, but is now scarce except in the mountain area. It can occasionally be seen in genya land or in small clumps on an outcrop. The blades of the pandanus are long and hard, with a row of spines down both sides of the blade. It has had several uses. Formerly it was the common material for making slippers (sori), hats, cigarette cases, and handbags. These home industries have all but disappeared, but old people occasionally do a little. In preparing the pandanus blades for use, the thorns are removed and several strips are made. These are then boiled, dried, and smoothed out. Then they are woven into the desired pattern. A first class pandanus blade is about 5 feet long. In the celebration of O-Bon, the fruit of the pandanus may be offered as food to the ancestors.

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Another plant occasionally used is the getto, known also in Okinawa as sannin or muchigasa. Its chief use is in the festival of the 8th day of the 12th lunar month. At this time, rice cakes (mochi) are wrapped up in its long and wide and flexible fibres. These wrappings, often made by children, are hung from the ceiling or from the wall. The stem of this plant was much used in the past for rope.

824 The nigana (njana in Okinawan, Ixeris dentata Nakai) is still used in this area as a food and medicine. It has an exceedingly bitter root, about 1/8 of an inch in diameter in a mature plant. The root is put in hot water, and the liquid drunk as a stomach medicine. The leaves, not so bitter as the root, have a sour, slightly bitter taste. They are often served with the white cuttlefish (shiroi-ikku).

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The Obako (known in Okinawan as the hirawakusa or hirawagusa, Plantago Asiatica L, "Japanese ribwort") is used as a medicine and as a food. When vegetables are scarce, it is eaten as a green. As a medicine, the leaf is heated over a fire and the hot leaf is then pressed over a swelling.

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Domestic Animals

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[727] The effects of the war are still to be seen in the scarcity of domestic animals (kachiku). The domestic animal population is increasing. Horses were far more numerous before the war. The same is true of cattle and oxen which, however, are more numerous than horses. All are used as draft animals, with the greatest frequency in Hanashiro. Cattle and oxen are used for plowing and harrowing in the rice fields; horses for pulling carts and wagons. Horse meat is not eaten. All larger animals are tethered or in stalls. They are not allowed to graze or to roam freely around the villages or on the hillsides. Since each bit of land is owned, grazing would deprive someone of needed grasses, either the young shoots or the matured fibres. Chickens are generally kept in coops. Ducks have a little more freedom.

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DOMESTIC ANIMALS

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<u>Animal</u>	<u>Hanashiro</u>	<u>Nagamo</u>	<u>Minatogawa</u>	<u>Matsuda</u>
Cattle and Oxen	40	5	0	1 (80)
Horses	2	1	0	20 (90)
Pigs	125	100	150	315
Goats	50	50	40	321
Chickens	a/	30	a/	706
Ducks	0	50	a/	10
Rabbits	0	0	0	6

Sources: Village clerks of each village and township records. Figures are approximate as of January 1952. Pre-war estimates where known are shown in parentheses. Villages try to keep an accurate and up to date animal census. a/ Not available, village has some

231 In all the villages studied, pig raising is the most important secondary occupation of the individual farmer or fisherman. Pig raising is old in the culture. According to Chamberlain (1895), under the old kingdom every household by law had to raise goats and pigs. Pigs were fed in part on human excrement. This practice in my observation has now been abandoned.

[434] Pigs are raised for sale. They are the most significant single source of cash for the farm family and they supplement the fisherman's cash income.

cash income. Pigs are seldom eaten by the family that raises them. On New Year's, a family will slaughter a pig or three or four families might co-operate in sharing one. Pork may also be served at O-Bon and at Jugoya, the autumn equinoctial holiday season.

A family often gets its start in pig raising by obtaining a loan from a mutual loan group. (These groups will be discussed later). A young pig may cost about ¥2000. Male pigs intended for market (nikubuta in Japanese, shishiwa in Okinawan) are castrated two months after birth. Keeping breeding pigs (tanebuta) is a special business. Men engaged in this business bring the boar to the pig raiser's home. Each village has such a businessman or at least has convenient access to one in a neighboring village. The fee usually charged is ¥200. If the first attempt at breeding is unsuccessful, a second opportunity is given free. On the third try, the dealer claims his fee again. In Matsuda, there is a belief among the old that as the tide is coming in, if a sow is in heat, the male will be able to perform, but that in the ebb tide he cannot.

Great care is taken in housing pigs adequately, if the family is able to do so. The pig sties made of stone or coral may be better than the houses of their owners. This is by no means so shortsighted or ridiculous as it might seem. Pigs are the means, one of the very few means, by which an agricultural family may acquire substantial sums of cash. To protect this living bank account, considerable sums are invested in fine stone, or cement floors and an adequate roof. The pen must be strong to withstand typhoons. With a good pig pen, a sow, and a good litter, a family can look forward to improving its financial condition and its own housing. There is great variety in the quality of pig pens. The pen may be in combination with the outside toilet, but with the two places completely separate; it may be part of a larger shed which also houses the goats, the cattle, or the horse. If a family can afford it, the pig is housed in a stone pen with stone floors, or with other sturdy materials.

The day to day care of pigs is mostly the work of women. While the husband is at work in the fields, the wife, as an incidental part of her duties, goes to the nearest plot to cut sweet potato tops, or mashes sweet potatoes in the stone mortar in the compound, often with her infant child on her back. There are three favorite varieties of food for pigs: (1) the leaves of the sweet potato plant not suitable for human consumption or not needed for transplanting, (2) the potato itself. The poorer grades of potato are put in a stone mortar and are smashed with a long pole, or pestle. (3) A cloudy liquid consisting of the sweet potato, waste bean curd (tōfu no kasshu) and water. This is always given warm. The pig may also get poor rice, or rice spoiled for human consumption by submersion as a result of a typhoon, or miscellaneous left overs from the table.

There are no ceremonies in any of the villages associated with slaughtering the pig. Villagers seldom kill their own except on

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[443] special holiday occasions. Pig killing or the killing of any animals is distasteful. The pig generally is driven out of the pen to a waiting truck or horse cart and hauled squealing off to market.

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[177] Considerable interest is being shown (early 1952) in the scientific breeding of pigs from stock imported from the United States. Chester White is a well known word among the farmers of Matsuda. In this area, regional meetings of pig breeders and raisers from the northern part of Okinawa and the Motobu peninsula are held to discuss the care, breeding, and marketing of pigs. These farmers have come a long way from the earlier days, even 25 years ago, when the toilet and the pig pen were the same. A farmer going from one of his fields to another often stops home to look at the pigs and perhaps to discuss his problems with a friend. In Matsuda, a pig growers' association has now been started.

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231 Domestic animals, especially the pig, can be expected to increase and to reach at least their pre-war level, if the villages studied are typical. This development will be all to the good. The pig consumes food not fit or not used for human consumption. It does not compete with humans for food. It is unlikely that land now devoted to the production of human food would be diverted to animal food. In my observation, there is not a strong competition between animals and man for the products of the land. Domestic animals really round out the agriculture and consume food that otherwise would not be used.

[311] The lack of grazing land, except on the hill sides and summits, means that domestic animals must be fed with food grown and prepared and fed to them by the farmer. Grazing also would be out of the question since the land on the hills is privately owned and split up in small parcels. The young plants are valued too highly to permit indiscriminate grazing.

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[262] Goats are cheaply raised. The only expense is the labor of getting leaves, grass, and tender shoots from the family's genya land on the hills. In the market, goat is the cheapest of all meats. There are also sharp differences in taste among villagers for goat's meat. The milk is not used as a food. Goats are tied up or kept in stalls for their entire life. They are never allowed to roam through the village or to graze on the hill sides. They are not given water and depend entirely on the water in the grasses and shoots which they are fed.

[492] Horses, cattle, and oxen are fed grasses, mashed sweet potatoes, and waste bean curd. Though occasionally used in rice fields, the chief use of horses is in drayage. In Matsuda, the horse and the two wheeled cart make frequent trips to the mountains to transport the longpoles, firewood, and charcoal.

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[262] Chickens are fed anything that might be on hand. Often they are given the chaff from the rice or the rice that is blown off in winnowing. Occasionally chickens are eaten, but they are kept primarily

for eggs, which are reserved more for sale than as a food, though this varies with the well-being of the family.

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Conclusion

The agricultural village, with its sweet potatoes, rice, soybeans and cane, its domestic animals, and its dependence on wild grasses illustrates the complex relationships between man and the land, bound together by the family system. The pattern of land ownership, a product of past land tenure, and inheritance, has been created by the family system. The land everywhere bears these traces of the work of man. Not even the barren mountain tops are exempt from his activities, for these supply the fresh grasses for his animals, grass for his roofs and for fertiliser, odd brush for his fires, stones for his fences and boundary ridges. The scarcity of land, the ownership of small scattered plots have induced a local care, through traditional conservation practices and fertilisation and crop rotation to maintain a continued economic base for the future of the main and the branch families.

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Within the family system, there is a tendency toward the persistence of the same occupation from generation to generation. Agriculture has the widest range of possibilities. The extremely old and the extremely young can engage in it. There is a place for the 80 year old grandmother cutting sweet potato tops, and for the nine year old boy to help in weeding the rice paddy. Agriculture demands no retirement from work as long as one has physical strength. Agriculture may readily become a secondary occupation. A stonemason or a fisherman can tend his land in leisure hours or in off season. The reverse is not nearly so common. Only with difficulty can the farmer acquire the skills and tolerances demanded of a fisherman. It is an occupation known to all, for by maturity a storehouse of information has already been filled, almost unconsciously, by watching and doing.

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226 most important.

226 (1) The sword or spearfish (kajiki in Japanese, akiteru in
136 Okinawan). This fish (some specimens reach 400 pounds) is caught
[227] from May through September. Fishermen go about 12 miles out for
the catch. A wire leader 15 feet long with a hook is attached to
a 1400 foot braided cord line about 3/16 of an inch in diameter.
The line is gradually played out after the initial 700 feet are
lowered. Swordfish fishing is done in the daytime. The fish is
said to be scarce at night. The hook is about 2 1/2 inches long.
The swordfish is considered the most delicious of fish. It is ex-
pensive, selling from ¥50 to ¥100 per kin (slightly over 1.3 pounds)
depending on season and supply; consequently, fishermen sell rather
than eat it, except in times of oversupply. Large fish are usually
cut up before being sent to market; the small ones are sent whole.
The swordfish is ordinarily eaten fresh. The favorite method of
preparation is to fry it after dipping a slice in a batter of flour,
[252] dried milk and water. Occasionally it is eaten raw as sashimi.
Dried swordfish is considered a delicacy. Unlike the shark, the
fins (hane) are not dried.

226 (2) The tunny (subinouo in Japanese, subi in Okinawan). This
136 fish is caught between April and November. Here there are two ways
[227] of catching the fish, depending on the type of boat. If the large
boat, the hatsudoki, is used a long line with as many as 200 hooks
set 75 feet apart is used. At intervals of every three hooks, there
are buoys with flags (hata). These flags, alternately white and red,
are about the size of a large handkerchief. In another arrangement,
the buoys may also alternate with the flags. The same line and wire
leader used for the swordfish are employed with tunny catching, but
the hook is smaller. When submerged the hooks are at various depths,
their paths describing semi-circles from buoy to buoy. Lines may be
pulled in from one to four times a day, depending on the biting. The
bobbing of the buoys and the flags indicates the biting and the probable
catch. A fishing party remains out for three days, leaving at five
in the evening, returning about ten in the evening of the second day.

The small boats use two lines, the longer going down from the
center of the boat, the shorter near one end. The method of catching
the tunny is the same as that for the swordfish. In night fishing,
the line might be lowered fifty feet, gradually playing out ten feet
at a time. Tunny fishing is mostly a night catch. The line during
night operations may be let out 700 feet, and, in the day 350 feet.

(3) The shark (fuka in Japanese). This fish is caught in the
same way as the tunny. Fishing takes place both during the day and
night. On the small boats, the line and its 15 foot leader with one
hook, is about 840 feet long, and the entire length is let out.

(4) The mackerel (hishisaba). The main season for catching
the mackerel is from March through May. These fish, usually weighing
about 30 pounds, are caught by divers who seek the fish out while it
is sleeping under stones. A strong line is tied around the tail and
the fish is pulled up on board. There it is killed with a short

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(9) The lobster, (ebi in Japanese, ibi in Okinawan). Catching the lobster is the work of young men, usually up to 24 years of age. A man over 35 may be too old for the hard work involved. Occasionally in summer older men engage in part time lobster catching. The fisherman secures a flashlight, covered with sheet rubber, around his left wrist with a strong rubber band. The rubber casing for the flashlight is often an old bicycle inner tube. The light can be turned on or off without removing the tubing. In his right hand, the diver holds a hook (ebikake in Japanese, ibikakiya in Okinawan) over 25 inches long, which he uses to dislodge the lobsters from the rocks below. Often fishermen remain in the water for three hours, the period depending on the season, the potential catch, and on how cold the fisherman becomes. The diver wears only a pair of shorts. The lobster is a year round catch, though there are few in winter. The full moon is considered bad for lobster fishing. It is not known exactly how lobster were caught in the days before flashlights. Some old men said that nets were used.

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On a good day, one small boat with three or four men, can catch 150 pounds of lobster. It is not eaten frequently by the villagers, but sold to the large fishing co-operative association (Suisankumai-rengokai). The hard and disagreeable work makes the lobster expensive. At present the local market is sensitive to the tastes of the Americans in Okinawa. Weekly estimates of probable demand are furnished by the central office of the association to the local head of the fisherman's association, who in turn informs the fishermen. The lobster is considered a delicacy and is eaten only when there is a large catch and the demand is low.

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(10) The seabream (taisakana in Japanese, akamasu in Okinawan). The seabream is caught with a home made device shaped like a Y with a top bar: Y. The base of the Y has a loop for the hook and line. These wire devices are known as yamaguchi in Okinawan though the younger fishermen call it the sarukan. The fish are caught by a series of these wire devices strung along a line with a sinker at the end. The success of the catch can be judged by lifting the line. An ordinary catch will bring fish on 3 out of the 5 hooks.

These are the main fish caught in this area. There are small catches of the bonito (katsuo), the dolphin or porpoise (iruka), and the shrimp (zakoebi), and a small octopus (tako). But these are rather infrequent. There are hundreds of other fish caught, especially of different smaller sardines (awaishi).

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The wire devices used for catching the seabream can be used in varying sizes to catch many different types of fish. Some, such as the ones described, are used for the bonito, and very small ones are employed in catching sardines.

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A fishing village has a different kind of regularity than an agricultural village. Activities in both are determined by the weather. During a heavy rain, everyone is in his house. But the farmer, even with a dark angry sky, can work up to the storm, and often continues working in a mild rain. The fishing village is guided both by bad and anticipated bad weather. On a fine fishing day, the village seems deserted with the men gone, and the women in the homes. But several days of rain or unfavorable weather keep the men home, and the village is alive with other activities, such as repairing nets, boats, and houses. Much of the fisherman's work at sea is at night, either in the actual fishing or in going and coming. For this reason, there is considerable daytime sleeping among them. On off days, the young fishermen loll around, often finding it difficult to pass the time away.

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Conclusion

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Fishing has become the occupation of a few places, such as Itoman town, some villages on the Motobu peninsular, and Minatogawa. Ryukyuan have achieved considerable fame for their skill in fishing in waters other than their own, such as their drive-in net fishing in the East Indies and around Singapore.³ Possibly it is the fewness of good ports, the necessity of adapting requirements to varying local geographical conditions, such as the coral reefs, or the long period of emigration that have prevented the large scale development of fishing on this island and insured the dominance of an agricultural life.

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It is also a striking fact that, on this small island where no village is far from the sea, fish is an uncommon article of the diet. The explanation is simple. It is a problem of distribution in which two considerations are involved: the higher prices obtainable in Naha, and the difficulties of preserving fish while distributing them through the rural villages. More often than not, the fish in a farmer's diet is the dried sardine or a canned fish from Japan, not the local catch.

Part 2

The Quarries of Minatogawa-Nagamo

1

Introduction

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[458]

Minatogawa is famous throughout Okinawa for its stone. Stone from the village and its environs may be seen in many towns and villages of the island. Before the war, there was a flourishing boat trade in wood and stone between Minatogawa and the northern region. The fine

³ For a recent statement, see Aquatic resources of the Ryukyu area, as cited, 7-9.

249 forced a return to crushing the cane by the use of rollers driven by a horse at the end of a sweep. Before the war, Matsuda had sugar mills driven by machinery. Mills may either be village owned, as in Hanashiro, or owned by small co-operatives, like that in Matsuda whose members rent it to others when not using it themselves.

443 [467] Village stores generally occupy the front part of a family's living quarters. They are operated mainly by women. A woman past middle age sitting on the floor of her shop, talking with visitors or reading the paper, is a familiar sight in an Okinawan village. A village may have several tiny stores. They do not compete with one another in the commercial sense of the word. Prices are the same. Their inventories are the standard ones. The chief differences are in size and variety. Some sell the strong alcoholic drink (awamori) called sake in Okinawa.

[191] Each storekeeper has a clientele of friends and relatives, but one is not under social obligation to repeatedly trade at the same place. Relatives sometimes own adjoining shops. In Japan, it is said that once a person starts trading at a shop he continues to do so. To switch would deprive the shopkeeper of business that could be counted on, and imply dissatisfaction with the service rendered. The first purchase creates mutual obligations between the storekeeper and his customer which are not broken casually.¹ This is not the case with these village stores. One patronizes the shop that is convenient, that is open when one wants to buy, that has the desired article. There is an informal atmosphere and lack of bustle in these tiny shops because so many are operated for supplementary income by wives or female relatives of the breadwinner. A wife may sit in her shop, as I have often seen her in Minatogawa, taking care of her baby, sewing on her treadle sewing machine, and interrupting her work when necessary for a customer. The cash involved is small, often only a few yen, and money is carefully accounted for. These shops satisfy a surprising amount of the village demand for food, food supplements, notions, clothing, and household goods. Larger, more expensive, or more specialized items such as books, suits, furniture are in the towns like Itoman or Naha in the south, or Nago and Ishikawa in the north.

An inventory of one of these village stores indicates the types of articles in frequent and constant demand. In one typical store in Minatogawa the following purchases could be made:

Foods

262 [291] Starch
Condensed milk for children

1 I was told this by Japanese and by Nisei who were in Japan during the occupation. I do not know how widespread or how characteristic this practice is of all retail trade there.

Japanese canned fish: mackerel, bonito, clams, whale meat hash
Noodles, buckwheat spaghetti and macaroni type pastes
Cookies, stored in glass jars, and sold singly
Sweet rolls (manju) from a town bakery, and sweetened bread (pan)

Tea

Aji no moto

White sugar

Soy bean oil

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Soft Drinks and Candy

Bottled lemon and orange ades

Cocoa Cola

Cum

Various candies sold by the piece, also stored in glass jars on the counter.

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Notions

Needles and thread

Buttons of various sizes

Trimings and ribbons

Braids for making and trimming kimono

hair pins, and combs

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Clothing

Clogs (geta)

Undershirts

Fibre sandals

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Toilet Articles

Perfumes and toilet waters

Shampoos, liquid and powdered.

Pomades and brilliantines

Toothbrushes

Soaps

Toilet paper

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Stationery

School tablets and notebooks

Pencils

Comic books (in Japanese)

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Medicines

Aspirin

Stomach powders

Eye lotions

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Alcoholic Beverages

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Japanese and American canned beer

[273]

Japanese type sake (a light rice wine resembling sauterne)
Okinawan sake (awamori)

Miscellaneous

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Charcoal sticks

Brass and nickel plated Japanese pipes

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Small dishes

Sake bottles

[416]

Oil burners to keep mosquitos away

Flashlights, bulbs, and batteries

Matches

Japanese and American tobaccos

Fishing lamps and the ika lamp (fishing villages only)

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Transactions are usually on a cash basis, although some customers pay at the end of the week. In one such store, the gross sales averaged ¥600 a day with a net profit of about 10%. (The yen is pegged at 120 to the US dollar). During the day and the early evening, the village stores are meeting places, especially if, like Minatogawa, several together make up a small business center.

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Supplies are delivered to village stores by truck or sometimes by bus. Often the owner goes to the larger towns to buy. Young boys are an important cog in the distribution system. They deliver candies, cookies, and other small articles which are carried in five gallon lard tins on racks over the rear mudguard of their bicycles. They ride up to the store, count out their candies or cookies, receive payment, and cycle on to the next store over a route which includes several villages. These boys work out of larger towns like Itoman and Nago. Baking goods, bread (pan) really a sweet dough with a jelly-like filling, cookies and candies are distributed in this manner. Sometimes housewives make cookies and cakes to sell to village stores.

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There is not much house to house selling or soliciting. Occasionally women come to the villages with a selection of ready made clothing or cloth. In Minatogawa, an itinerant drug vendor periodically goes through the village ringing his bell, selling various Japanese patent medicines mainly for colds, headaches, constipation, and stomach aches.

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Import stores (hyokujo), also operated privately, are a different kind of enterprise than the village shop. They have been set up under the American occupation. Larger wholesalers supply the village retailers. These stores deal in a restricted number of commodities, such as rice, flour, soy bean sauce, wheat, and cooking oils. Sales are made to villagers on a rationing system based on the number in the family, its age distribution, pregnancy, and whether the head is engaged in heavy work. The intent of the import stores is to make food available, at reasonable cost, to those who cannot grow their own, or whose own produce

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needs supplementation. Hence, a farmer cannot buy so much as a fisherman. A rice farmer, if he is eligible at all, cannot purchase so much as a sweet potato grower. These stores fill a genuine need. They have alleviated hardship and done much to improve the monotonous pre-war diet. In the villages, they are a concrete reminder of direct American contact. There is not a store in every village, but each village has ready access to one.

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The rural blacksmith takes care of the needs of farmers and stone-cutters. One such shop in Nagamo serves many villages in the Gushichan area. The forge is of simple construction. The air is blown by a sort of box bellows. The operator sits down, as if he were in a row boat, and by pushing and pulling the handle (which has a T-end grip like a hand pump) moves the piston horizontally back and forth. The blacksmith repairs agricultural and stonecutting tools and makes new tools, chiefly hoes and spikes for the harrow.

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There are no good inns, restaurants or tea houses in the villages. In Ikinatogawa a Japanese inn of rude construction and comfort caters to parties for the entertainment of visitors who have business with local people.

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Getting a haircut or a bath may involve going to another village. Like the stores, barbershops are little social centers, especially during bad weather when villagers are not working and take the opportunity to have their hair cut.

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Mutual Loan Groups

In China and Japan, mutual loan groups have had a long history. In essence, they are groups associated for the purpose of borrowing and lending money, the capital being derived from contributions of the membership. There is an element of chance when members bid against one another or draw lots for a loan.²

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Each member of a loan group advances an agreed upon share. The total amount is then available as a lump sum to one of them as a borrower. The borrower repays principal and interest in monthly installments. The remaining members advance the same amount each on the following month to another borrower. In this way, there is a continuous cycle of lending

² They are known variously as mo-ai (Japanese), mu-a (Okinawan) tanomoshi and yurei (Japanese). Groups organized on a monthly basis are tsukikiyurei or tsukimoai (Japanese), and on an annual basis as nimo-a (Okinawan), nimo-ai (Japanese). At present there are no annual groups because of uncertainties regarding the future value of money. Now loans are normally for a 10-12 month period.

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426 and repayment of principal and interest. Members are involved in these transactions out of different motives. The organizer is usually the one most interested in borrowing money. Other participants may wish to earn interest on spare cash. They are the bankers of the group. Between the person who needs immediate cash and the bankers are those who would like to borrow money during the life of the group but are indifferent as to the precise time, hoping to bid and obtain a loan at a favorable rate to buy a pig or to repair a house.

The most complex of these loan groups were found in Minatogawa. A group may have any number of members; usually there are from 10 to 15, but there may be only five to nine. Each group has a set of regulations (no-ai no kisoku). In Minatogawa money is borrowed for house or boat building, for buying pigs, or for other business purposes.

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[62] The first meeting begins with a party given by the persons most interested in starting the group. On the following months, more modest parties given at the homes of other members are in conjunction with the bidding and distribution of the money. The entertainments of the first and last meetings include pork or goat meat, bean curd, tea, and sake. At the first meeting the organizer is the host. Rules are established as to whether the indebtedness shall be put into writing and as to guarantors. (Before the war, occasionally a borrower ran off to Japan or to one of the other islands and was never heard of again). Now a guarantor is required, but this is a formality. The system really rests on mutual trust and on the co-operation of friends and relatives of known honesty. One person may belong to several groups. Multiple membership is naturally confined to those with plenty of ready cash who have no immediate use for it. A group whose membership is poor will subscribe from ¥100 to ¥300 a month, a moderately well-to-do one from ¥2000-3000. There are now about 30 in Minatogawa. Members usually are present or former residents of the village. Men and women participate. These gatherings combine business with a friendly social atmosphere so typical of Okinawan business transactions and official contacts. The mats of the room are arranged to form an empty square in the center of the room, and this square becomes a combination counting board and refreshment table.

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In one type, the loan is awarded after secret bidding (usually by writing on a piece of paper), the award going to the lowest bidder, for he is offering the highest discount. For example, ¥20,000 are available for a loan to be repaid in ten installments of ¥2100 each (¥2000 principal and ¥100 interest). If a member wants the money badly enough, he may bid ¥17,500, accepting that amount and paying back on the basis of ¥20,000 plus interest. He thus would get the award over a man who bid at a discount of ¥2000 or ¥18,000.

In one form of the discount type, the organizer automatically gets the first loan. He does not bid and does not lose by discounting. He has started the group for this purpose. On the second and succeeding months, the bidding is secret and competitive. Assuming ten members pooling ¥2000 each the first month, in the second nine members advance

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175 no native money and used the Japanese cash, and that the Japanese did not permit a native coinage.²

436 Up to the war, only bills of low denominations circulated in the villages. In Minatogawa, an old lady, now about 73, said that before the war she had never seen a ¥100 note, which at that time was worth slightly over US\$25. But since the 19th century, new conditions have pried the farmer loose from barter and self-sufficiency. There is little to warrant a belief that rural villages are self-sufficient. The most elementary obligations, such as sending one's children to school, require cash. An average rural family of five may require from ¥40-60,000 a year.

[574] Cash outlays include: (1) Entertainment, including the purchase of sake. Entertainment is an integral part of the culture and cannot be dismissed as a luxury. (2) Clothing. (3) Fertilizer. (4) Tobacco. [388] (5) Soap. No soap is made in the home. American soap flakes are highly prized, but generally are not purchased because of the cost. [262] (6) Hair cutting. (7) Food and food supplements, such as noodles and vermicelli types of paste, cooking oils, salt, soy sauce, meat, fish, seaweed (kombu), rice, if not grown and purchases from the import store. (8) Fuel, charcoal, charcoal sticks. (9) Transportation for business or pleasure. (10) Newspapers. Many subscriptions are cancelled when the price goes up. (11) Tools and tool repairs, but maintenance is small after the original investment. (12) School books and contributions to schools for purchasing special items. (13) Medicines and mid-wives' fees. (14) Occasional purchases of lumber, stone, or tile. (15) Taxes. [204] [872] [651]

434 In the farming areas, sugar and pigs are the only significant sources of cash income. Sweet potatoes, rice, eggs, and soy beans may be sold, but the amounts are either too small or the selling price too low to provide substantial amounts of cash. Occasionally younger sons may have jobs which bring in money, and a farmer or his sons may have a horse cart for hire.

[511] In Minatogawa, cash outlays, in addition to the items already mentioned, are required for nets, gasoline, and oil. Cash comes from sales of fish, pigs, and stone. The lack of rice, an insufficient sweet potato crop for year round needs, imports of firewood from the north and the occasional need to purchase grasses for thatch make this community more dependent on cash than the agricultural community.

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8 The economic problem of the fisherman is also different from that of the farmer. Both the farmer and the fisherman must pay cash for medicines, fertilizer, alcoholic drinks, clothing, various special but traditional articles of the diet, taxes, tools, and supplies. The farmer, however, can produce much of his food. He can exist on sweet potatoes, bean curd, and bean paste soup, and if need be may spend little money on food. The fisherman cannot exist on fish alone. Fishermen without fields must depend on cash earnings to buy the

² Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, Vol. I, 160, 220-21. Chamberlain, The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, Geo. Journal 5 (1895), 313.

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The first naming of children is done at a ceremony on the day of birth, or on the following day, if the birth took place at night. It is known as unbagi. There is a small gathering of relatives. Soup, rice, and a little sake may be served. Ordinary rice or rice cakes (mochigomo) may be prepared and put on the Buddhist god shelf. If a boy, the relatives and parents pray for his strength, if a girl for her good health. Unbagi, an Okinawan word, is also known as sūchūsan no iwai (Japanese). The ceremony precedes the burying of the afterbirth.

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One important element in the naming of a child on its day of birth is the state of the tide. The child is named only if the tide is coming in. It is not necessary that the tide be high. Perhaps midpoint is the best, though high tide is considered good. Practically everyone can calculate the time when the tide is coming in or out; since they all know the lunar calendar with a cycle completed in 15 days, it is a simple calculation.⁶ The explanation always given for calculating the tide on this and other occasions is that when the tide is coming in, fortune and happiness will enter in the new life or the new situation. When the tide is ebbing, everything goes out and away.

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The real celebration of the birth of a child occurs several days after birth. It usually occurs on the 5th or 6th day counting the birth day. This is known as mansen (Okinawan) and is in honor of the good health of the mother and the child. In Japanese, it is also called muikajari.⁷ In all communities studied, the week long all night celebration has disappeared, though the celebration of mansen might last well into the night.

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One celebration, observed in Minatogawa, is probably typical of the thousands that take place every year in rural Okinawa. The guests came early in the evening to the parents' home, or, as in this case, to the home of the child's grandfather, since the father, a first son, lived in his parents' home. The men sat in the first room (ichibansa), the women in the second (nibansa), following custom in parties in which both sexes are present. The head of the house, the grandfather, sat in front of the alcove (tokonoma) of the first room. The child's father sat next to him. Each guest went on his knees, bowed, congratulated the father and presented him with a small money gift. The usual gift is about ¥20. This was accepted by the father, who then responded with a short speech. Sometimes these are formal and stiff, sometimes like a simple conversation. The guests also congratulated the

6 The method of computing times of high and low tide will be given later. The tide is important in the marriage ceremony, when moving into a new house, or when moving, in the case of a second or succeeding son, from a main house to establish a branch family, and at a child's party on the first anniversary of its birth.

7 The day was variously given me as 4-5th, 6th, and 7th day after birth. Muika in muikajari means 6th day.

grandparents. The food was then served: noodles cooked with vegetables, with a slight fish flavor; rolls; tempura, a sort of fritter; a fish cake known as kamobuko with a red border symbolizing happiness, and plenty of sake (awamori). A streamer hung from the ceiling near the alcove, announcing the name and date of birth of the new born child, together with the written wish that she might live any number of 10,000 year periods. There are no special ceremonies on these occasions. Some guests drop in for a few minutes, others remain for the whole evening. The women and the children go home early, while the men continue talking and drinking. This celebration is the first of a series that continues through a person's life, and if his descendants are devoted, will end 33 years after his death. After this celebration, things settle down until the child's first birthday.

At present a child's age is reckoned in the same way as the Western custom. A child is one year old one year after the date of his birth. This is a recent innovation in force since January 1, 1950. Formerly age was reckoned in the Chinese and Japanese manner. A child born during a year was one year old and on the following New Year became two years of age. Thus a child born on December 27 would be two on January 1. The difference between the Chinese-Japanese and the western reckoning is that the former counts the years during which a person lives with New Years as the date for increasing the age, the latter counts the number of one year periods in which a person has lived.

The old system of reckoning age is inconvenient and conceals age differences. A one day difference might mean a year's difference in age in the case of a child born on December 31, and another on January 1. Determining the actual age of a person was troublesome. When children started to school, they might be 6, 7, or 8 years old and still be about the same actual age.

The Early Years

In all the villages studied, the women returned to their normal tasks about a month after childbirth. When the mother returns to the fields, the grandmother may accompany mother and child to the fields, the grandmother watching the child, while the mother nurses it at 10, 1, and 4. If the grandmother is too old and disabled, the child might stay home with the grandmother and the mother return from the fields to feed the child. Lacking help of this kind, the mother remains at home until the other children have returned from school.

But arrangements of this sort need not last long, for very early in life the child is strapped on the back and carried around

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155 is an impression, and I doubt that Okinawan mothers would agree
114 with me. The toddler stage, in my opinion, is a difficult one for
the Okinawan child. It is an abrupt change from the continuous care
and physical contact of infancy. This transition need not necessarily
be abrupt. A child may be carried some and walk some. As he learns
to walk, his mother is near him.

857 When the child is no longer carried, he ceases to be an observer
and becomes a participant in play. Formerly he watched the activities
of the older children and smiled to the attention when it was given.
Now he wishes to catch up with them as they walk down the lanes; he
is often left behind and is not fast enough nor expert enough to keep
up. This is a problem of childhood everywhere, but I believe here
155 that the transition from one type of activity to another is more
855 drastic. The child also receives less attention from his parents,
especially from his mother. This most mothers would deny. But I
have often seen parents walking along a village lane, a toddler behind
them crying and trying hard to keep up with them. They showed less
solicitude and patience with him than they had when he was being
carried. The mother gives less attention to the child during this
period, particularly if she has had another child. In this, I do
not mean to imply any lack of kindness or tenderness in the treatment
of children, but to point out a change of emphasis. There is much
more crying in the 2 to 3 year age groups than among infants who cry
very little because they are entertained so much.

The toddler not only has the problem of becoming a participant
in play, but of getting along without the close attention of the
mother, his elder sisters, and possibly brothers.

855 Children are rather regularly spaced. The middle child of the
[842] lower three is most likely to be neglected. The baby is on the
mother's back; he gets his breast feeding and is always with the
mother. The older child has started to school or is leading an active
play life. The middle child, too young for school and only tolerated
by the older child who has his own interests, is too old for the breast
and the back. The successful transition from the back carrying and
breast feeding stage to walking and to the stage of independent play
seems most successful when there are many children of the same age
in the village, and consequently absorption in play can replace the
intimate attention of parents and older siblings. A father may fill
in this gap, allowing his young child to accompany him to work, but
this experience generally belongs to a later period of childhood.

853 As the infant grows, nursed by the mother, he gradually receives
262 other foods, but the variety depends on the economic status of the
family. The first food (other than the mother's milk) is rice water.
Later rice is made into a gruel. The rice is soaked and mashed up in
a quern. Families who have rice fields, or who can buy rice, may
delay feeding the sweet potato to the child until the third year.
Among the poor, sweet potato feeding begins much earlier. One

mother, for example, fed her child rice gruel (Okur) at eight months and at the age of one year the child began eating sweet potatoes. By the time the child is ready to walk and play, he often carries with him a piece of sweet potato, and, in season, a piece of sugar cane.

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A party is held on the first birthday anniversary of the child. This is more elaborate than the one which honored his birth. Birthdays are not celebrated each year. After the first anniversary, the next are on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 49th, and 61st birthdays, that is, at twelve year intervals.

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The party for the first birthday of a child is particularly tender and affectionate. At one year, he can walk or stumble, and answer or smile to the calls of his parents and grandparents. He can pick up things, throw them, and make his presence felt. The exhibition of these skills becomes part of the celebration. It is customary to invite both relatives and friends, who bring a small money present, from Y20 which is usual to Y100 which is uncommon.

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During the party, the child is given several symbolic gifts. These are placed on a low table in the middle of the room which the child can easily walk to and reach. Usually the gifts are a book, a fountain pen (or a writing brush, fude), an abacus (soroban), and a stack of paper money. These symbolize the wish that the child will become proficient in learning, writing, counting and mathematics, and will become rich. The child is eagerly watched as he unsteadily toddles to the table to see which article he picks up first. While the act is not taken seriously, the article which the child picks up first is supposed to indicate the field of endeavor in which he will be most fortunate.

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These parties, small or large, include men, women, and children, but the majority of the guests usually are men. After the child has gone to bed, the party continues. In more formal and larger parties, the guests first come up to the father, go on their knees, bow, and make a short speech of congratulation. Sometimes these speeches sound as if they are prepared beforehand, other times as if they are spoken spontaneously. There is an exchange of sake between the father and his guest, both sipping from the same cup, the usual custom. The mother and the female relatives during this time are in the kitchen preparing the food.

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Women sit by themselves. This is true of all celebrations when the sexes are together. Women do not drink. (In a similar party near Matsuda, the old women--usually over 60--drank a little). The jolly old women also love to dance solos in the traditional style. They dance with grace and vigor. The evening progresses without any planned entertainment. There is talking and drinking, singing, and samisen playing. Men, with a repertoire of Okinawan songs, sing in

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Husband and wife usually are from the same village, but there are many exceptions. Marriages of persons from different villages have increased in the past decade. This probably should be ascribed to the greater mobility of the people and to the acceptance of free choice in marriage. It is common, for example, for a Matsuda boy to marry a Ginosu village girl. It is also common for a boy in Minatogawa to marry a girl from the nearby agricultural villages of Henashiro, Asato, or Oushichan. This apparently is a distinct change from earlier practices.

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If the family registers are accurate, the great majority of the men living in a village were born there; it is the wives who are more likely to be the newcomers. In the social atmosphere of village life, it is the men who provide the continuity; the women are more likely to be strangers. The husband may point to his father and grandfather who live or have lived in the village; fewer wives can do the same.

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2

The Marriage Ceremony

In my experience, no two marriage ceremonies in Okinawa are alike. Marriages take place at any time of the year, but in all three villages, they were more commonly held in the late fall or in winter. The reasons given are that the heavy clothing and elaborate headdress of the bride are not suited to the hot and humid summer and that these can be more comfortably worn in the cool winter months. The marriage feast with its fish cakes, meats, vegetables, and a variety of other perishable foods can be more easily prepared and kept in winter. In the agricultural villages, the ceremony usually takes place after the day's work; in the winter the reception may start by 5 and the main ceremonies are over by 8 in the evening.

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Description of a ceremony at Matsuda. The party began about 5 in the afternoon. Because of the large number of guests, the primary school was used for the ceremony. At the head of the first room, the grandfather and grandmother of the groom, the groom, his father, and the go-between were seated. Other relatives of the groom found places around the sides. Later the father of the bride, who arrived shortly before his daughter, joined this group. The go-between, a young man of 24, was a friend of the couple, and his wife was a member of the groom's family.

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In the other rooms, opening into one another, about 300 guests, mostly men, were assembled. During the reception and before the beginning of the ceremony, guests representing their families entered the first room to congratulate the father, the groom, and the grandparents. In this period of congratulation involving the father, the groom, and the guest, there was an exchange of sips of sake from a common cup. As in other instances of congratulation, some speeches were long, some short, some well prepared, others extemporaneous.

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date of their birth (using the Japanese reign date), where they had gone to school and their present occupations. This was done separately for each. After this was over, the bride and groom stood silently and politely, but without outward expression, while three guests in turn, previously chosen, made speeches, offering their congratulations and best wishes. On this particular occasion, the principal of the school at which the bride was teaching, the principal of the school at which the groom was a teacher, and a mutual friend of the couple spoke.

These proceedings do not receive the undivided attention of the guests who have been drinking sake for some time. On the tops of the tables, dancing in the traditional Okinawan manner and the accompanying singing have begun. The dances and songs, usually performed by men in their forties and fifties, were done with grace. These are part of all social gatherings of any consequence.

The sober attitudes of the work day are cast aside. The best clothes have been put on. There is a great contrast between the barefooted partially clothed farmer or fisherman of the daytime and his appearance at social occasions. These events are conducted with dignity and poise, at least until the sake consumption has risen to a high point. The party then becomes a noisy melee of dancing, singing, and talking, but without quarrelling or fighting. There is little self-consciousness in entertaining others. Talented guests do not have to be cajoled into performing. Dancing, singing, and samisen playing continue spontaneously, with another performer beginning after one has finished. The wedding party lasts from about 5 to 8, but many of the guests stay much later until the sake is gone.

Following the san-san-kudo, another but more private ceremony took place while the guests were entertaining themselves. In the wedding room, colored cakes and tea were placed on a small table. The female relatives of the bride and groom, mothers and sisters mostly, sat opposite one another and ate cakes and drank the tea together. This ceremony indicated the willingness of the bride's family to give up the daughter, and of the groom's family to receive her. After this ceremony, the bride's gifts from her parents were carried in. These vary with the family's wealth. In this case, they were a chest of drawers, a mirror, a heavy comforter, pillows, and a mosquito net. Before the war, gifts were more lavish than now. The usual presents now are a large chest of drawers (tansu), two heavy quilts or comforters (futon), a mirror (kagami), two Japanese type pillows (makura), and a large mosquito net (kaya). A poor family would be most likely to omit the chest of drawers. A new kimono and money may be included.

A ¥20 note is the usual gift of an ordinary guest at a wedding. Closer friends will give about ¥100. There is no uniform practice about gifts from the groom's to the bride's family. About ¥1000 may be presented prior to marriage. The bride's family uses the money to purchase the wedding gifts.

The day following the marriage, there is another ceremony, this

585 following the marriage, there is another ceremony, ^{The day} this time for relatives and perhaps a few close friends. The couple go to the bride's house where there is food and sake. This means the husband has really and finally accepted the daughter of the house and is thanking her parents for her.

But these events also are not observed uniformly. On the second day, there may be a gathering of friends and relatives, to be followed on the next day by visits of the bride, groom, and the groom's friends and relatives to the bride's home to give thanks for receiving the girl in marriage.

585 The food served at weddings depends on the economic circumstances
269 of the family. But at today's prices food which would be considered acceptable costs at least ¥1000 per person including sake. This feast had many extras and consisted of a buckwheat (soba) noodle soup, slices of beef and pork, eggs, tempura, a fritter without a fish or meat filling, sweet potatoes, a vegetable salad of raw radish, green onion and sea weed shoots, a boiled fish paste, rice cakes, and a sweet round fritter (sato tempura) very much resembling the doughnut in taste, various cakes, and a sponge cake (kasutera).

585 The marriage ceremony is performed only when the tide is coming in,
[823] for the same reasons that were noted with the birthday celebration of the child. Marriage is a time of bounty and fulfillment, not of diminution and withdrawal.

585 There was a "very ancient" Okinawan custom, cited by Spencer on
114 the authority of Shimabuku Genkichi, the student of Okinawan history, of the bride remaining in the home of her parents even after marriage, and the husband coming to her home to spend the nights with her. This Spencer ascribed to the high economic value of the woman and the custom at the time of Spencer's writing (1931) was still said to exist in parts of the northern district (Kunigami) of Okinawa.³ The temporary return of the wife to her home after her marriage, while the husband went to a public brothel was also an old custom.⁴

[548] The preceding description of a wedding ceremony in Matsuda may be
585 compared with one seen in Gushichan village close to Hanashiro. (Rural
184 weddings are not so easy to see as one might think. There may be only one or two in a year in a village; when the parties are from different villages, the number in any one village is also reduced). In this

3 Spencer, as cited, 96. In my studies at Matsuda (which is in the Kunigami district) and in visits to Oku on the extreme northern part of the island, I did not encounter any indication of the survival of this custom. But unfortunately I was unaware of their previous existence and there may well be survivals in some of the villages.

4 Simon, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riuks-Insein, 97.

1

The Daily Diet

There is little variation in the basic diet in any of the villages. Among individual families, the chief difference is in the proportion of sweet potatoes to rice; this depends on economic status and the possession of rice fields, the poorer the family, the greater the reliance on the sweet potato. Except for seasonal foods, the diet is uniform throughout the year. Neither is there much variation in the three meals. The basic foods are:

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For breakfast: A soup made out of hot water and bean paste, perhaps with bits of fish or meat added, sweet potatoes, and tea.

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For lunch: Rice or sweet potatoes, raw, boiled or fried vegetables, and tea.

For dinner: Bean paste soup, rice if possible, or sweet potatoes, bean curd, and tea.

The foods which supplement these basic items are: (1) Fresh fish in season, uncommon for the reasons given in Chapter X. Imported dried sardines and canned fish from Japan are more common in agricultural villages than fresh fish. Even in Minatogawa, fresh fish is scarce when the catch is light. In summer, the fish is too valuable to eat and only unsold fish is eaten. (2) In Matsuda village, rice and pork are more frequently eaten than in the two southern villages. Rice and pork consumption is indicative of a higher standard of living. Many families have rice twice a day. Beef may be boiled, and with vegetables added, made into a soup. In the winter, the Japanese dish sukiyaki may be eaten, but the meat in this dish is often meagre.

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There are many occasional foods or side dishes of which the following are the most common: (1) bean curd (tofu). This is made at home by women. (2) Taro (sato imo) boiled and eaten as a side dish. (3) A sweet or unsweetened fritter (tempura). Japanese tempura usually is shrimp or other fish fried in batter. Okinawan tempura may or may not have a filling. Frequently the filling is a paste of brown sugar, or a slice of sweet potato. At celebrations, they may have a meat or a fish filler. (4) The rice cake (mochi) made of glutinous rice (mochigome). (5) Buckwheat paste (soba), and (6) noodles (somen). These are fairly cheap and are always purchased. (7) Bread (pan). This is a slightly sweetened large bun, normally with a little jam or jelly filler. The bun is baked in the large towns and distributed generally by boys on bicycles to the village stores. (8) Boiled or pickled radishes, boiled pumpkin cut in small squares and served with a piece of fish or meat. (9) Onion tops and spinach boiled with a seasoning of fish, chicken, or beef. (10) Various vegetables in season.

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000 vegetables in season.

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On special occasions, cookies, cakes, and more fresh fish and meat are served. In Okinawa any food out of the ordinary is called a feast or a treat (gochisu). Fresh fish, fish cakes, beef, pork make up a feast, for these are seldom served in the routine meal. Fish, pork, and beef are universally liked, but fish is hard to get, beef is expensive, and pork is a source of cash income. Many families eat pork only at New Year.

By almost any standard, including their own, the daily Okinawan diet is monotonous and unappetizing. Nevertheless the present diet is an improvement over the pre-war one. Most villagers said that before the war, the diet consisted of the sweet potato and bean paste soup. Bean paste soup usually has a few shreds of meat or fish in it. In times of scarcity, or if the family is very poor, only the paste is used, and when this is dissolved in hot water, it makes a kind of clear bouillon which is jokingly referred to as "mirror soup" (kagami miso) because one can see his face in it. In Okinawa, it is also called "nothing in it soup" (nnshiru). Since the war, the rice imports from Java, Siam, Egypt, and other foods sold through import stores have provided more variety.

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Goats are a cheap source of meat, but many do not like goat's meat. The milk is not used for human consumption.

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Tea is served at all hours. Many Okinawans, however, have acquired a taste for coffee. Tea is steeped in a large pot and placed on a tray with the cups. Once made, tea stays in the pot until it is drunk. Frequently it is lukewarm or cold. Callers are served tea and small chunks of brown sugar, picked up with chopsticks. Sugar is never used to sweeten tea. There is considerable eating between meals, especially if visitors drop in. Women prepare a bowl of noodles, of cooked vegetables, fry an egg, or slice up some bean curd. Villagers eat enormous quantities of food.

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The people are very hospitable, but hospitality does not take the form of inviting friends to dinner except on special occasions, like a birthday celebration or a wedding. One family does not entertain another at dinner, but an individual member of a family who has worked at a friend's house may stay for an evening meal. Or a child may eat with the family of his playmates. Entertaining does not include a man and his wife. The wife normally stays at home.¹

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1 In Nishitogawa, I was told that the beginning of the preparation of the meal was a sign for the visitor to return home. This was not due to the broad hint of the host but to the reserve (enryo) of the visitor. "Nann ni waru" (Okinawan) "to be pressed by food" is said by those returning home at these times. One goes home at meal times.

The tomb is revisited on the 7th day. Rice cakes, bean curd, and a little sake may be taken as offerings. The food items vary. Pork, rice, and tea may be added or substituted. The offering may consist of a variety of favored foods (a gochiso, a feast or a treat). The observances on the 11th, 21st, 28th, 35th, and 42nd day are like the preceding ones, though beginning with the 35th day, the prayers and the food offerings may be more elaborate.

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The 49th day has special significance. At this time, the temporary white memorial tablets are removed from the god shelf and burned, and the permanent tablets hung there. This god shelf has the tablets of the immediate family in the male line: the father, grandfather, the mother and grandmother, or of deceased children. A son who establishes a branch family has a god shelf in his own house. While I found no unanimity on the point, many interpreted the 49th day as the day on which the deceased is presumed to have become a god (hotoke-san). Others have said this did not take place until the 33rd year after death, certainly a more logical time, since the observances cease at this time. On the 49th day, there are visits to the tomb and prayers before the god shelf at night. As the last of a series of observances which follow closely after death, the food offerings and the food served to guests are much more sumptuous than those of previous weeks.

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In the annual anniversaries, differences depend on family piety and economic status. With some families, observances become more elaborate as the years go by. The prayers and the feast of the 1st and 3rd years are usually the same as that of the 49th day. Beginning with the 7th year the rice may be dyed red. Rice dyed red is used as the years from the date of death increase. In all cases, the 33rd year is the last and the most luxurious of the celebrations. The occasion begins with prayers at the god shelf, the food offering, sake, followed by a banquet for the guests, most of whom are relatives. This 33rd year celebration is the final recognition of a person's life on earth as a member of the family and ends the responsibility for observing the anniversary of his death.

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Though rare, a family may call on a Buddhist priest to officiate at one of these memorial observances. One service, in memory of a fourth son who had died in the Philippines in 1944, was observed in Minatogawa. The priest received from the father the name, age, and place of death of his son and wrote this information on a piece of paper. The chant began with the tapping of a small bell (inkin), ringing which was repeated frequently throughout the service. The chant, which lasted about 25 minutes, was sung in an archaic Japanese which no one understood. Toward the end, the priest read the paper on which he had written the information regarding the deceased. These were the only words which could be clearly understood. The purpose here was to inform the Buddha of the name of the dead. The priest wore a black robe with gold trimming. Around his neck was a string of beads (suzu) with a pendant purple tassel. He sat in the front of the first room with the father of the dead boy on his right. The women guests were in the second room. As the long chant continued, people began talking to one another, and when the priest

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By the 7th day, the reminders of New Year have been cleared away. The old offerings are taken from the god shelf and replaced by new food. The rice straw rope, if any, has been removed.

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Of all the holidays New Year is the most eagerly anticipated and the most varied in its activities. It combines ideas of renewal and new beginnings with worship of the dead and of the founders of the village, as well as being a means of making closer ties with more distant relatives of the extended family. It is a time of work and some pleasure for the women, a time of relaxation and drinking for the men.

2

Jūrokunichi

The second public holiday, Jūrokunichi (literally 16th day) is on the 16th day of the 1st lunar month (February 21, 1951). This is a holiday of devotion and prayer at the family tomb. Worshipers go singly or in a group. The tomb is cleaned and food is left for the dead.

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In Hanashiro, food is taken in two lacquer boxes (jūbako) the first of which contains rice cakes, the second, fritters, meat, bean curd, and other food depending on the resources of the family. For the first observance after death, two boxes are taken on this holiday. On succeeding anniversaries only the box containing the fritters, meat, bean curd and other foods is taken.¹ The purpose of this offering is to comfort the dead. The food, usually with tea and sake, is left before the tomb for about two hours and taken home, where it is eaten. (Offerings at tombs or at home are only temporary; later they are removed and eaten as ordinary food). The lacquer boxes may also be taken on New Year, at the spring equinox, and at O-Bon.

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In Hinatogawa, descendants of the former nobility or gentry (shisoku) take four boxes, two of rice cakes, two of the miscellaneous foods, while descendants of commoners take two boxes, one of the rice cakes, and one of the assortment. Every year the same offering is made. It is not reduced to one box after the first. In Matsuda, any kind of a flower is placed by the tomb. A lacquer box with food is prepared for all who died during the preceding year, but it remains on the god shelf in the house and is not taken to the tomb. The contents of the two boxes are as previously described. On succeeding anniversaries after the first, plates instead of lacquer boxes are used.

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1 The idea behind this is not clear. Possibly in the first year the dead person requires more food and comfort than in succeeding ones. As they do with so many other practices, most Okinawans explain it by saying that it is shūkan (the custom).

Celebrations Through the Festival of the Fifth Month

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The 15th day of the second lunar month (March 22, 1951) is the Buddhist holiday, higan, celebrating the spring equinox. Here it is a home festival of thanksgiving. Barley (amugi) or barley cakes with brown sugar are offered with prayers for continued good fortune. Other grains, such as rice, millet (awa) may be offered, though the cakes (mugimochi) are of barley. In Matsuda, this is not a home ceremony. An offering of white rice cakes is made by the village head man, with the assistance of lower orders of the former priestess system, at the site of the village patron deity.

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The third day of the third month is the festival of the dolls, (hinamatsuri). It is not important in Okinawa and is spottily observed. In Minatogawa, it is a woman's holiday. Women and children make dolls. Gifts of dainties and candies in red lacquer boxes are prepared. People from nearby villages come to Minatogawa, bring their lunches, and gather shells and catch fish.

The fifth day of the fifth month is Boy's Day. This Japanese holiday is not significant in the villages. There may be banners with a picture of a carp (koi no bori) displayed, visits to the place of the patron deity, some visiting and sanisen playing, and perhaps a play.

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The 11th day of the 5th month (June 18, 1951) is the festival of the Gods of the Sea and is observed only in Minatogawa. It is this village's greatest celebration. The boat race, held on this day, attracts many from the interior villages. In Hanashiro, most activity ceases while everyone goes to the boat races. Before the races, the villagers go to the religious sites to make small offerings and to pray. The races are held in the estuary of the river. In their excitement, children with infants on their back often wade out in the water to cheer their favorite boat.

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The Festival of the Fifth Month (Gogatsumatsuri) is held on the 15th day of the 5th lunar month (June 19, 1951). Like the festival of the spring equinox, it is a day of thanksgiving. Thanks are given for rice instead of for barley. In Matsuda, the ceremony is conducted by the village head man and former members of the priestess system.²

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2 According to a Matsuda informant, women should not sew on this day. It is a rest day. If work is done, including gathering plants for fertiliser, the dreaded poisonous snake, the habu, will come. These customs were not encountered in the other villages.

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[536] Young girls with pots of hot tea circulated in the audience. The stage performance was a combination of local amateur talent and professionals from Naha. Normally the entertainment begins with a traditional Okinawan dance by a professional woman dancer, followed by a short skit. Conversations in Okinawan between an educated man and a stupid rustic are favorite subjects. Acts of this type are greatly enjoyed and cause laughter, mainly I was told because the jokes had sexual overtones. The shorter acts are followed by a play. (The theme of this play will be discussed in the following chapter).

6

Other Holidays of the Year

[824] Chrysanthemum day, the ninth day of the ninth month (October 9, 1951), is a very minor holiday. A chrysanthemum is put in sake, and the flask is placed on the god shelf. A leaf of the plant is put in the sake when it is drunk. People at this time wish one another good health. The festival is only spottily observed.

[262]
[252] There is a minor public holiday, the rice cake festival (mochi no matsuri), said to be native to Okinawa, on the 8th day of the 12th lunar month (January 4, 1952). On the day before, women prepare red and white cylindrical rice cakes, about 4 inches long and one inch in diameter. These are wrapped in the leaf of the sannin plant or in the leaves of sugar cane. The glutinous rice cake is made by first soaking rice in water and then washing it in a hand mill. The rice is put in a cloth bag to allow excess water to drip out. The following morning the rice is boiled and shaped and wrapped in the leaves. The cake is doughy and insipid to taste. On the morning of the 8th, the cakes are placed on the god shelf and after prayers the cakes are removed. They are served during the day to guests. Sometimes children attach strings to these cakes and hang them about the room. The holiday is not observed by every family in the village, but it was recognized in all the villages studied.

[169] The festival of the winter solstice, the longest night of the year (tsuji) is known, but Minatogawa was the only place in which its observance was noted. It is a home festival with prayers and the familiar offering of assorted foods to the ancestors.

[177] Western Christmas is not observed in any of the villages. It would not be surprising if it should become a holiday, with gift giving, feasting, and drinking, but without the religious connotations. Since the occupation, Okinawans have become conscious of Christmas.⁶

[197] 6 I was told that in certain villages of the northern district, such as Kushi and Higashi near Ogimi that there is a Christmas festival, without the gift exchange, a survival of earlier missionary teaching. Time did not permit me to verify this, but there seems little doubt that a Christmas festival does exist in some Okinawan villages, judging by the frequency with which I heard of it in Matsuda and Ginosu villages.

871 and the more advanced the school, the truer this is. Friendships
572 are made early with children of nearby villages. Marriage may be
the result of early school acquaintance, encouraged by the acceptance
of free choice in marriage. A young adult has a scattering of friend-
ships in the villages of his township. These class friendships are
strong in school, in the teens, and early twenties. By the late
twenties, the circle of friendships has broadened.

182 One of the most significant links between the family, village,
526 and school is the annual athletic meet (undōkai). It is held in the
fall. Preparations for this event are long and involve almost every-
body.⁵

526 About a month before it is held, the meet is the topic of
[875] innumerable conversations. School children practice singing and
[534] athletic dancing drills at home. School teachers, who do most of the
organizational work, practice with painful cacophony on their trumpets and
clarinets. On the streets and lanes of Minatogawa, young men from 17
to 23 practice broad jumping late into the night. Shortly before the meet,
all normal school activities stop. The teachers paint signs, mimeograph
programs, and plan the order of the various events. The school officials
have interminable committee meetings.

• [262] There is much bustle, laundering, hair washing, and cooking in a
village the day before the meet. Special lunches including rice dyed
red, bean curd, slices of fish paste, beef or pork are prepared. This
field day is the closest approach to a picnic the Okinawans experience.

[576] In good weather, the meet has a large attendance. A reserved area,
with school desks and chairs is set aside for special guests. A person
entering the reserved section to take his seat bows to the mayor and the
group, steps forward a few paces, bows again, and takes his seat.

The mayor of the township presides over the meeting relieved by the
vice-mayor or other school or village or township officials. On one day
of the autumn meet, the mayor remained seated throughout the morning
and afternoon in a drizzling rain. It was his duty, assisted by the
principal and the teachers of the school, to give out the prizes.

Relay races, girls' dances, races and dashes for various age groups
are endless. At present, the meeting is not confined to school children,
but the younger men and women are included as well. The Young Men's
Association is very active. Special events are included. In the Women's
Association event, there was a mother and child race. In one case, a
mother who entered the race with a child on her back and her young son as

[119] 5 These remarks are based on observations in Minatogawa, Oushichan, and
Hanashiro villages, and on attendance at the Oushichan meet in Novem-
ber 1951. From discussions, I am certain they are very similar in
Matsuda, in fact all over the island.

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[855]
[862] care of an older sibling or the kindergarten teacher, therefore has a chance to see the mother. Men and women who have gone to the mountains return with their first load of wood around 10 o'clock. The mother will return again around noon and prepare the midday meal: noodle soup, fried cabbage with dried shrimps, perhaps rice, and always sweet potatoes. After lunch there is a short rest period. During the hot summer months this rest extends to an hour or more, and on the hottest days people lie in their houses sleeping during the noon hours. Midday is also a time for social interaction. There is some visiting back and forth. Old people always seek each other's company, and younger ones back from the fields or forest may join them for a while.

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515 Toward evening blue smoke indicates again that food is being prepared. Pigs are fed by the women in late afternoon. Then women, young girls, or boys fill water buckets and carry them home. After 5 there is a heavy run on the tank or faucets, and this is often the time when families start preparing a bath. It takes until dark to warm up an oil drum filled with water and heated underneath by scraps of wood and twigs. People take their bath after dark. Since the bath house was destroyed during the war, ablutions take place outside near the tank under a faucet or in an old oil drum in one's backyard.

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[836] Young men who return from the mountains wash their horses in the sea. The women who sell fish call on each house at this hour to peddle their wares. The village store, which has only seen a few customers in the morning and during noon, now has its busiest hour. Mothers send their children to buy noodles, kerosene, rice, or seaweed or else they come themselves, a baby on their back or the toddlers following them.

[889] This is also the hour when the young men and women gather to do joint work in the fields of their association or to play volleyball on the playground. Meanwhile, all forest workers have returned and busily cut the last pieces of firewood, bundling them before the store clerk comes along to buy the load. Some adults sit near the playground and watch the children.

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264 Work goes on until dark. Only then do families gather for the evening meal. During the summer this may be as late as 8 o'clock. For many families this is the only time during the day when everybody gathers in the family circle. At this time family affairs may be discussed and plans made for the next day's work or other pending matters.

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264 The evening meal consists of rice, a bean paste or noodle soup, and some fish. Meat is served occasionally if a goat is killed or on holidays when someone has slaughtered a pig. Most families cannot afford to buy more than small portions of meat, which are fried or made into

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soup. Nothing is wasted and leftovers are kept for the next meal. The majority of people are fast eaters, and chopsticks move from bowl to mouth quickly and deftly. Some families eat silently, others enjoy talking during the meal.

Before and after full moon, people like to go out after supper and gather in small groups by the store to talk and smoke or to visit each other. Less running back and forth is observed during dark nights. There is also a seasonal variation in that respect. On cold winter nights, or when it rains, doors are closed early, and visitors slip into the house by the side kitchen door. On warm nights all houses are open, and one can see people sitting in their living room by the light of a kerosene lamp; passers-by just call over and then go in for a chat. Guests are served tea, bits of brown sugar, and other sweets. Men get together at this time and start talking over a cup of sake. A relative or neighbor, bottle in hand, walks in and joins the party. Here and there somebody pulls a samisen out of the corner and starts singing.

Evenings are also the time for village meetings, finance group meetings, family gatherings, and other formal get-togethers. Several times during the week a light shines from the village office or the store office, where some of the village leaders meet to discuss community affairs. In the winter, household-head meetings or other general meetings are called for 8 o'clock; in the summer they do not start until 9 o'clock. In the absence of clocks, few meetings ever start on time.

The young men and women have their get-togethers at the clubhouse in Udenaha. Both sexes attend, sometimes for lectures by a village official on village affairs, sometimes for lessons in bookkeeping and the use of the abacus in business, for which one village leader dedicates his time, or for other educational purposes. Once a week they have a social evening with discussion and sometimes folk dances. On nights when no meetings are scheduled, young men gather at someone's house to smoke, drink, or sing together. If enough sake is available, parties can become noisy. Occasionally a fight or quarrel starts later in the evening after everybody has drunk steadily. Such interruptions on quiet evenings are rare and seldom occur more than once or twice a month. Loud singing at midnight or later, a group of gay men knocking on somebody's door, these are the only disturbances an early sleeper may experience if a party is held somewhere.

By 11 o'clock mosquito nets are hung in the rooms and comforters spread on the floor. Except in the house where men gather to drink, quiet descends over the village around that time. Individuals, however, may be seen until long after midnight. Taira goes to sleep late, and although people claim that everyone gets eight hours of sleep, it

243 offered at the village shrine by the priestess. Today key agricultural
 [782] events are still marked by small ceremonies in which the priestess be-
 [799] seesches or thanks the gods, but the actual day for planting is deter-
 mined by weather and the condition of seed.

When the rice is transplanted in March, the whole family spends long hours in the paddy. Then the paddies swarm with people; some prepare the soil by spreading fertilizer, others stand in the ooze to set the seedlings. Transplanting is done by mutual assistance groups, which will be discussed later in this chapter. They guarantee everyone a sufficient number of helping hands during the painstaking, rapid work, which has to be finished within a limited time. In a few days the whole paddy area suddenly turns from brown into the tender green of the young shoots. Once planted, intermittent weeding is all the care that is needed.

[261] In July the rice turns brown and is ready for harvest. This is an
 [857] event of joy for the whole village, for young rice is most delicious and
 loved by everyone. By then vacations have started, so that school-
 children can help to cut rice and carry bundles to the spot where it is
 threshed in treadle-type machines, located either near the field or be-
 hind one's house. As soon as the rice is threshed, the grain is carried to
 a place in the village where the wind blows freely. There a woman
 holds a flat winnowing basket filled with grain at an angle to let the
 [782] breeze separate the chaff from the grain. The first rice is cut by men
 [264] and offered at the family shrine before the whole family eats a specially
 [251] prepared gruel. Rice is usually stored in one or two oil drums in the
 kitchen-side corner of the front room. Better houses have a metal-lined
 storeroom. Once a week a supply is taken to the miller to be hulled
 [256] and polished.

Those whose fields are sufficiently wet plant a second crop, and the cycle is repeated once more in midsummer, with the second harvest falling in late December.

244 Sweet potatoes can be planted throughout the greater part of the
 year if the soil is not too dry. They take from five to seven months to
 grow to full size. Although less popular than rice, no part of the plant
 • [262] is wasted. The large tubers are consumed, the small ones are usually
 [231] fed to the pigs; the young leaves are used as vegetables, the older ones
 cooked into pig food. Slips are cut and used for planting a new crop.

The preferred variety of potato (*tadushi imu*) is grown in the dry
 paddies during the second rice season. To plant this potato, the soil
 must be piled up to form a long, narrow, flat-topped mound. One of
 the hardest jobs for farmers, this is done by men in the humid heat of
 a midsummer day. Women set the slips after the earth has been moved.
 [251] These potatoes are the only variety which are thought to improve with

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231 Before a piglet is bought, its feeding habits are carefully observed by
 [417] the buyer to determine future growing potential. It is then kept in a
 sty: pigsties are either in the yard near the house or in a cluster of
 stables on the north edge of the town. Twice a day women cook the
 food in large kettles and ladle the liquid food into a trough. Nowadays
 [262] pork is rarely consumed in the village except for special holidays, when
 [438] several families may slaughter pigs and sell part of the meat to every-
 [251] body through the local store or preserve some of it by salting. Most
 [442] farmers, however, wait for the meat buyer from the southern part of
 the island from whom they receive a good financial return.

Goats are raised for home consumption. They are never left to graze
 [417] but are quartered in a goat pen near the pigsty and fed on grass cut
 from uncultivated land. Seven families in the central village have
 [492] horses. Their main use is to carry firewood from the mountains. The
 small breed looks like a cross between a horse and pony and seems
 especially adapted to climb the steep trails. They are also used for
 plowing and for pulling two-wheeled carts. The owner of a horse
 [434] may more than double his income from forest work. Horses are fre-
 [427] quently rented out for half the day's income from wool carried by
 them.

Silkworm raising, an important source of income in Taira before
 the war, is only now being resumed by some Tairan families. The
 [474] larvae are supplied through island-wide silkworm raising associations,
 which repurchase the cocoons after they are spun. To raise silkworms,
 a substantial house is needed so that rats cannot enter and eat the
 worms. The temporary postwar structures with holes and cracks in the
 walls and roof are inadequate. Only a few recently built houses can be
 used. One family keeps growing worms on shelves in the front room.

[137] Most of the mulberry trees were lost during and after the war. Plans
 have been made to plant new trees. Young girls feed the mulberry
 [462] leaves to the gluttonous worms who require constant attention. When
 the worms are ready to create their cocoons, they are taken off their
 diet, and the cocoons are cleaned and sorted out. Silkworms can be
 raised four times a year if there is an adequate supply of mulberry
 leaves. Their sale brings a good income, which can become a substitute
 [434] for cash earned in forest work.

FISHING

226 Fishing is a much less important source of livelihood than one would
 [554] expect in a coastal village and is a low-prestige occupation. Only two

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of the permanent Tairan families fish; the majority of the fishermen^{only two} are migrants from the surrounding islands who come for a season. [226] [166] leaving their families behind. A few families have moved in permanently. The fishermen supply Taira, but most of the catch is peddled in the Nago market by the fishermen's wives. Some of the more enterprising and mercantile-minded women in the village buy up fish and peddle it for a profit. [438] [443]

Two or three times a year, during February or March, large fishing boats from Henza Island land in Taira with whale meat. All the able women look forward to making extra cash at this time, for whale meat is considered a delicacy in homes where meat is rare. Blubber is eaten and used as frying fat. The distribution of whale meat is arranged by one village woman whose fishermen relatives from Henza supply it in response to her request. She acts as agent, distributing the meat to the women on consignment. [262]

LUMBERING

The main source of immediate cash for most families is firewood. Forest land in the mountains is owned by the township and the village, except for some woods near the fields, which are personal property. The township permits the village to exploit a certain region surrounding the community in return for payment of a forest tax. This tax is levied on firewood bundles or on lumber sold by villagers. Everyone in the village is free to cut wood in the designated area in any amount he desires. This, however, does not imply that unlimited cutting is possible, for resources have been utilized so heavily that most forests near the village are almost cleaned out, and it has become increasingly difficult to find wood. Reforestation has only recently been introduced on a serious scale. Often villagers are found trespassing on land owned by the central Ryukyuan government in order to cut from the less depleted forests there. Government officials are sympathetic to the villagers' plight, and they tend to dispose of such transgressions with a stern warning. [313] [423] [651] [185] [423] [685]

Men and women, and during vacations, some children over 12 years, go to the forest. Most people prefer to walk and work in small groups. To reach a place high up in the hills, they may have to hike almost a mile from the center of Taira. The steep, narrow paths made by woodcutters traverse the mountains. Following the approach trails during the day, one can hear voices and the sawing of wood from many directions. All lumber people carry a short handsaw and a heavy bush knife. [857] [487] [412]

602 on one's mother's side and, after marriage, the wife's family. In seek-
476 ing mutual assistance for rice planting, house building and other under-
takings, such relatives may be approached. In other words, kin, neigh-
bors, and members of the same geographical section of the village
participate almost equally in mutual assistance groups. Maternal rela-
tives join in family celebrations and in the discussion of family matters.
Since many decisions are made jointly with the help of relatives, there
are frequent occasions for the kindred to gather in the evening at one
house or another.

561 Each Okinawan also belongs to an age group. As will be described
in the section on socialization, beginning at kindergarten an Okinawan
becomes associated with a group of boys and girls who will remain his
575 companions through school. As a member of junior high school he
653 will join the formal Student's Association, which is responsible for
certain community projects. High school students and all unmarried
young adults belong to the Young People's Association, which is both
a social group and a cooperative work group.

575 After marriage there are several associations which one may join.
185 Adult married women who are under 57 belong to the Women's Asso-
562 ciation, which is affiliated with an island organization dedicated to
"modernizing" women's lives. The organization is lead by a few women
who are in contact with the district and island organization. They
attempt at semisocial gatherings to introduce changes aimed at easing
the burdens of daily life and the pressure of poverty. For example,
• [262] they are trying to influence the women to return to making their own
bean paste rather than spending precious cash. The leaders show the
women how to make bean paste and encourage them to set aside one
work-free day a month to catch up with neglected housework. Many
of the efforts of the organization, however, are not too successful. Most
women go back to their homes and find that the accustomed ways are
easier to follow. One has learned to live with economic pressures and
tradition and established custom is a strong force. So the few forward-
looking women have a difficult task in rallying others.

Both adult married males and females may also join an organization
similar in objective—the Home Improvement group. Although the
men who are village leaders belong to this association, the majority
of the members are the same women who are leaders in the Women's
Association.

575 Before World War II there was an association of older men.* Al-
887 though this group seldom, if ever, meets, it still sends a representative
623 to the village council and to a few village functions.

* Apparently of relatively recent origin.

831 keep others from noticing sex activities. Keeping sex a private matter
833 does not mean that there is a feeling of shame or guilt. It is considered
a natural function, and although they do not discuss marital relations,
men feel free to mention sex and its pleasurable aspects. Such conver-
sations seem to cause some embarrassment among the younger women
but are thought entertaining by older ones.

To men, sex, like food and drink, is to be enjoyed and indulged in.
Women, too, enjoy sex but are more reticent and give much less overt
expression to their desires. There are stories about women who are
sexually aggressive, but they are either characters in the folklore or
women of a neighboring village who are said to be this way "because
they don't work hard enough." Men enjoy sex activity until an ad-
vanced age. One man over 60 whose wife had long been dead twice
took a young woman as second wife; in both cases the women left him
after a short period, but dissatisfaction with his sexual capacity was
supposedly not the cause. Several children in Taira were fathered by
[278] men who had passed their sixtieth birthday. People believe that
potency depends on physical well-being and age, but that it can be
produced by a special drink consisting of sake in which a poisonous
snake, the *habu*, is steeped. As soon as one finishes drinking this brew,
[262] its effects should be felt. Sake, meat, and eggs are also thought to in-
[273] crease potency.

833 Women's breasts are considered sexually stimulating. Men like to
caress the breasts and the skin in general. Kissing occurs during fore-
play only among some younger couples; older people do not care for
it. In a room or house, shared with others, few couples undress fully
for intercourse. Moving the baby to one side of the mat or mattress, a
husband joins his wife.

834 There are no pre- or postparturition taboos; relations continue
[843] throughout pregnancy and are resumed about a week after childbirth.
[846] when the wife has taken her first bath. Men tend to disregard the pub-
lic health nurse's urging that women be given a little longer rest.

837 That extra marital affairs do occur is evidenced by the presence of
848 illegitimate children. But the mothers are likely to be widows or girls
732 who for one reason or another did not get married at the usual age.
[835] Deformity may be a reason for not finding a husband. Two children
[581] in Taira were claimed to be the issue of an incestuous relationship
between a man and his widowed daughter. Although the children were
conceived and born outside the village, people became suspicious after
the family returned to Taira. Because the putative father failed to
deny paternity strongly, villagers felt certain that their suspicions

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793 lives like other villagers, spending most of her time in the fields and around her home. She has children and grandchildren, but the father of her children no longer lives in Taira. She regards the continuation of the old ceremonies as her holy duty even though she has to do without most of the accustomed material support from the village and in spite of disbelief and lack of participation. She has sought in vain to have the village make necessary repairs on the simple village shrine near the township office and on the little hut where the ancestral tablets of her predecessors are kept.

[358]
[346]

793 While many of the former ceremonies have been discontinued, the
782 priestess is still called on to officiate at house-building ceremonies, to
[342] purify the lot, to offer prayers when the beams are raised, and to con-
[776] duct the dedication when the house is finished. If the owner is mov-
[778] ing out of an old house, the priestess notifies the fire deity so that he
will follow to the new abode. On other occasions the priestess conducts
prayers at the village shrine or at one of the other sacred places near
the village. Many of the prayers are succorant—requesting the aid and
blessing of the gods in accomplishing a certain goal. In general, as
Lebra has pointed out (1958), ceremonies of asking for help are more
numerous and elaborate than thanksgiving ones.

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On New Year's morning the priestess prays at the water well. Since
so many ceremonies have been abbreviated and are no longer carried
out in traditional detail, the priestess apologizes for short cuts in her
prayers. If she fails to offer prayers in all prescribed spots, she pacifies
the deities by facing in the direction of the sacred place where the
ceremony should have been conducted. Although the priestess is clearly
best qualified to enter into communication with the deities, many
older women seem to possess such power also, and if the priestess' as-
sistants are not present, another older woman can function as her
helper.

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For these ceremonies food for offerings is contributed by the village.
The priestess, in a white gown, kneels, flanked by her assistants, also
in white, in front of a tray of sake, rice, or other food for the deities.
Charcoal incense sticks are burned while brief prayers asking the
deities for a successful crop, thanking them for a harvest, or whatever
is appropriate to the occasion are mumbled. On certain occasions the
women sing chants. After these ceremonies, the priestess, her assistants
and the few others present, usually old women, share the food offerings.

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One of the most dramatic ceremonies is held on Boat Race Day in
lunar June. Priestesses from several villages gather near Taira. Dur-
ing the ceremony the Taira priestess stands in the middle of a circle
formed by the other priestesses and helpers, beating a drum as the

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744 tuberculosis, the public health nurse teaches the family how to treat the patient in the home by giving him rest and drugs provided through her. Isolation, though recommended, is not carried out effectively, as might be expected from the general treatment of sick in the village.

744 Like most public offices in Okinawa, the nurse's carries with it a large load of administrative duties. Between these and attending meetings and lectures at Nago hospital, there is relatively little time to cover the long distances between villages. Taira is fortunate to be the residence of the nurse, and when occasionally a nurse from another township comes to help her with inoculations, the children crowd around her and say "We want 'our' nurse to do it."

743 The dispensary, or small hospital, in Taira is owned and run by a former medical corps man in the Japanese Army, referred to as "doctor." After the war the government gave permission to a number of former army medical personnel to practice on a limited scale in the villages. The Taira practitioner takes the place of a midwife, gives first aid, and diagnoses simple illnesses. If there are no complications, a patient requesting medical care may be kept at the dispensary, where a family member and the doctor's "nurse," a young female servant, attend to all his needs. If the doctor is confronted with a complicated birth or a case requiring surgical skill, he refers the patient to a private clinic in Nago or to the public hospital there. The township gives financial aid to the doctor to maintain his establishment.

757 Penicillin has become the doctor's stock in trade, and other antibiotics and drugs are liberally administered via the hypodermic needle.
[278] But the doctor does not restrict himself entirely to the use of recognized Western medicines and practices. He may recommend special diets to which people have resorted for a long time, such as goat soup, which is believed to cure colds. Although the doctor has a high status in the community, most persons do not rely on his advice alone but resort to other practitioners and their remedies.

[759] Until a few years ago a popular medical practitioner, the bush doctor, resided in Taira. After his death nobody took over his work, and now many people have to travel far to receive treatment from a bush doctor in another village. His methods primarily include the use of moxa cautery, burning mogusa weed on the patient's skin, and acupuncture by the use of a fine golden needle. He may also prescribe a certain diet and the use of special herbal remedies, which the patient prepares for himself. Those who have great confidence in the bush doctor's competence, particularly older persons, do not consult the Taira doctor at all.

758 In all their dealings with sickness and its prevention, Taira people are severely handicapped by their economic conditions. Even families

527 --held at the old warehouse, the village office, or, during warm days,
574 outside—but also introduces all family or small group events. This is
the time when guests arrive, polite greetings are exchanged with
everyone in the order of his relative status, and a seat is found in ac-
[576] cordance with it. Everyone sits quietly and politely, men with legs
crossed tightly in front, women resting their buttocks between their
heels. The conversation is somewhat stilted and reluctant. Meanwhile
the hostess and her female helpers set cups before each guest, and they,
or the male host himself, may pour tea.

537 Village celebrations of an official nature, such as "Mother's Day"
(see Chapter 6) or the reception of the newly elected mayor, or New
527 Year, are times for oratory of a sober nature. The village dignitaries
574 and honored visitors, frequently seated at tables overlooking the com-
munity on the floor, each give a speech consisting of lengthy inventories
of events and accomplishments. Sometimes food and drink are not
served until the last one has spoken, but more often the situation is
mellowed by the simultaneous serving of food and drink, which add
to the inspiration of the speaker and the enthusiasm of his listeners.

527 Special dishes are associated with different holidays, and food, when
574 served, begins to dispel some of the formality. Even if there are no
speeches, it gives everybody something to do and talk about, and as we
● 262 shall see shortly, more effective stimulants follow soon. The ice is
broken. The food set before guests may be red-colored rice, which is
served at joyful events such as New Year, or white rice, which is pre-
pared when the dead are commemorated. For agricultural holidays the
special food is made from the harvested crop, rice or potatoes. A feast
plate may also include some pork, cooked in soya sauce, or presented
in a mixed dish of vegetables; sometimes, it may be deep fat fried
dumplings, either plain or with brown sugar stirred into the batter, or
red and white fish cakes, or even several of these together. Less ex-
pensive foods, such as noodles and fried fish, are also served during
feasts. Tairans have a sweet tooth and eat with relish the pound cakes
and cookies which accompany or follow a meal. There is a sufficient
quantity of food for the many guests, and whatever they cannot con-
sume during the party, they may wrap up in a newspaper and take
home.

527 Once food is set before the guests, the emptied tea cups are refilled,
574 but this time with sake. This helps immediately to loosen the formal
273 atmosphere which still prevails, at least after one or two cups have been
emptied. Before this happens there may be, especially during weddings,
family affairs, or the Mayor's reception, a polite exchange of cups be-
tween two men, who fill each other's and present it with a little ap-

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would be nothing more uproarious than a group of singing celebrants seeking further entertainment from house to house. The occasional quarrels after drinking, which are mentioned elsewhere, seemed much more frequent where only a small group of men indulged after work, especially younger ones. No major holidays ended in dissonance.

The main events for family celebrations are lunar New Year, *seimei*, a period in spring during which descent group ancestors are revered and *Bon*, a commemoration of the dead in the fall. At these times families are reunited with relatives from other villages or the city. These events are observed in the home or in front of the ancestral tombs. During *Bon* young men and women go from house to house, performing traditional dances for this holiday in front of the assembled families.

Celebration of special birthday cycles and agricultural events, such as the day when ditches in the paddies were cleaned in former times, are observed by villagers as a group. An important religious event for the community is Boat Race Day in lunar June. On lunar August 15, the celebration of the full August moon, some villagers present stage performances and dances at a public celebration.

In general, it may be said that families gather as a unit on those days on which ancestors and deceased family members are commemorated. The village jointly celebrates events which are either based on local religion or on agricultural events. The only national holiday which is now in existence was established by the post-war Ryukyuan government. It is observed by school and government offices but not by the people.

Sport events form another category of holidays. The most important one falls in October when both in Japan and all over the Ryukyus athletes compete against each other. Athletic meets take place for several weeks; for the village the biggest event is the competition of all athletes in the township on *undokai* day. Everyone leaves work and takes picnic food to the track at the junior high school where each village competes against the others. This lasts all day.

Wrestling matches are part of entertainment during outdoor celebrations in the early summer. They are mainly an affair for young men. Occasionally an older man who feels strong enough challenges a younger one. The villagers sit around a large circle near the beach, watching the fights while they eat holiday food and drink sake. On Boat Race Day Taira and the neighboring village of Kawata race fishing canoes against each other. Spectators at this event are enthusiastic supporters of their favorites. After the races this holiday ends like any other, in celebrations with dance and drinking.

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women in Taira. Three young mothers, who continued to work despite the discomfort and pain of swollen extremities, consulted with the doctor in the nearby town, and a fourth described this condition, which had prohibited her from any but the most simple and undemanding work. The old people look upon unusual pregnancies in askance. "Work, good, hard physical labor is what we did and we never had any difficulties. Young people pamper themselves." [843 164 461]

Special foods and advice are proffered the expectant mother for the benefit of the baby. "Eat this so that you will have lots of milk for the baby. Remember that spicy things are bad for the baby. Do you recall the one who was born with a great patch of hair on its arms? Its mother was frightened by a great big cat while she was carrying that child," comment villagers to the mother. Some husbands indulge their wives' cravings for special delicacies like expensive imported fruits. [843 262]

To keep the baby in position, a sash is wound several times about the pregnant woman's abdomen by a midwife or some old woman. [292]

In the "old days" it was not unusual for a woman to return from the mountains or fields carrying her newborn. Grandmothers recall with relish the days when "Women paid little heed to their condition, did hard work, and had their babies without a whimper." "The women to-day pamper themselves," snap the wizened grandmothers watching an expectant mother resting between trips to the mountains. [844 843]

As the day of parturition approaches, the expectant mother schedules her work to remain as close to the house as possible. When labor starts, she retires to the back room of the house, which is situated next to the kitchen. The medical practitioner, or in his absence a midwife,* is called to assist in the delivery. The husband's mother, if she lives in the house, or other older related women attend. A man may be present during his wife's first delivery but at subsequent births will wait with some of the women in the front room. In the old days a woman was supported by her husband or someone else in a half-sitting position. Nowadays, however, women give birth lying down. Only rarely does a woman in labor cry out in pain. Soft crying is permissible, but any loud demonstration would elicit contemptuous comments from the older women. "If you had worked hard, the baby would not be so big, then labor would not be difficult," is an often heard retort. [844 759]

Informal interviewing revealed that birth takes place in a large number of cases during late evening or early morning hours. Usually children of the house sleep on undisturbed. Should they awake, they are kept out of the delivery room, although the youngest may be allowed to enter to visit with his mother shortly after delivery. [858 593]

The newborn is bathed in tepid water then bundled in blankets.

* At present there is no midwife in Taira.

853 There are no food taboos during pregnancy, and after birth mothers
262 can continue to eat what they wish except for certain "hard" foods,
[843] such as octopus, whale meat, and certain kinds of fish which are be-
lieved to stop the flow of milk. To stimulate lactation, the mother is
given papaya boiled with flour and noodles or a medicine made from
herbs



Chapter 13

Infancy

858 The infant is considered a helpless, pitiable treasure who is incapable
155 of knowing, understanding, or learning until he is around 6 years old.
855 If this senseless child is treated affectionately and indulgently, he will
grow to be a healthy, happy adult.

177 With the spread of Japanese influence throughout Okinawa, accord-
[861] ing to informants, there evolved another belief, which in Taira is
complementary to the idea of the senseless child. This new belief is
vaguely conceptualized by most young parents but was verbalized con-
cretely by at least two sets of parents. "Children are the gift of gods.*
They are godly until they are 7 years old." Exoneration of misbehavior
on the part of the child under 7 (6 years according to Western count)
conjures up in the mind of the observer a picture of willful capricious
gods who are totally unpredictable. A shrug of the shoulder and a
phrase which completely defines both attitude and resignation in Japa-
nese is, "helpless, against one's will." Because children are godlike in
nature they do not know any better; because they do not know any
better they are godlike in nature. Just why and how a child outgrows
this temperament could not be explained by the parents. These beliefs
foster the extreme indulgence, protection, and nurturance of young
babies. Their physical and emotional needs are attended to constantly,
with a great deal of affection.

* This notion may well have been influenced by Christian as much as by Japa-
nese ideas.

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845 mother and family. "Nursing two babies at once on a diet as meager as ours is too difficult," explain the mothers, and they also point out that multiple births cause great economic hardships.

854 Infancy in Taira, in congruence with the concept of the nature of an infant, is a period of indulgent and affectionate nurturance. Except for a brief period during the initial month of life, the baby is rarely left to lie on the floor to sleep, and during this period the mother or grandmother is always close by to pick him up at the slightest whimper. From the time he is a month old until shortly before the arrival of the next baby, he is constantly carried during the daytime on the back of another, an adult or an older child. At night he sleeps next to his mother. His carriers include parents, paternal grandparents, unmarried aunts and uncles, older siblings in an extended household, and parents and older siblings in a nuclear household.

854 Those mothers who have read or heard that it is good for babies to cry occasionally never have an opportunity to test it. "The old people feel sorry for the baby and insist upon prompt attention," complain 178 young mothers with "modern" ideas. The immediate response of adult 853 and child caretakers to an infant's cry is to take him to his mother, who promptly nurses him. The breast is thrust into his mouth whether he is hungry or not. "Pitiful!" exclaim old grandmothers and rush to pick up the infant. More often than not it is the newborn's father or older sibling who orders the mother to do so with the same expression.

854 There is the belief that the first four months are a trying period in 853 which the "bad" habit of crying is formed; therefore every attempt is made to keep the infant comfortable and quiet. One mother described how she and her husband took turns eating their evening meal because one of the children had formed such a bad habit. "We would take turns carrying him and walking around the yard and eating. There was nothing else we could do. Both of us did not like to have babies cry." Another mother told of how her whole family converged on her every time the infant whimpered. "Hurry and nurse it . . . must be hungry . . . may be sick . . . so pitiful!" they would say to her.

853 It is imperative that a mother have enough milk. She is given special foods and told not to get overtired. She is advised to avoid foods that 262 could pass on properties which might be harmful to the child. Sometimes she has more milk than her infant can consume. One such fortunate mother nursed the baby of a mother whose milk supply had failed. Women who have a plentiful supply of milk are also sought out when mothers find it necessary to work at some distance from the village. In these cases reciprocal arrangements are made so the baby need not go hungry for very long.

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frowned and tugged at the straps that were straining at her neck muscles. 593

At a still later date, Hanako, with her baby sister strapped to her back, played on the beach. At one point, when all the children were scattered over the beach and no one else was nearby, Hanako edged up to the fieldworker and asked, "Would you like this baby, teacher? Here, take her," she said wearily. Asked why she had changed her mind, the little girl smiled shyly, squirmed uncomfortably for a moment, then whispered, "She's too heavy." Her 3-year-old sister, off in the distance at that point, began to scream and cry at being left so far behind. Hanako turned to look back once, then walked on as the 3-year-old squatted on the sand and screamed to be carried. At that moment her mother appeared to nurse the infant, and Hanako ran to her. She bounded swiftly away to the 3-year-old as the mother started to nurse the baby. Returning a few minutes later with the 3-year-old on her back, Hanako deposited her disgustedly, panting heavily from the weight. "Shall we give baby to teacher, Hanako?" asked the mother, and without any hesitation Hanako this time nodded "Yes." The mother laughed and said, "Hah, she has had enough of her already. When the baby was tiny and cute, she was so eager to carry her and wouldn't give her to you, but they all get tired of babies in time." And with that the mother began to rock the baby back and forth in her arms. Smiling affectionately, she kissed and hugged the cooing infant and murmured, "Nobody wants you, eh?" Because she was an unusually outspoken mother she confided, "I think I have had enough too, here, I give her to you!" She laughed as she continued, "How can I make money, feed and clothe the children when I have to rush back from the mountains to nurse this baby." 857
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When the child is about 6 months old, he is subjected to a painful operation which prepares him for the introduction to solid foods. The area around the navel is moxa-cauterized. Nine little brown dots in three rows of three attest to the practice of burning a special kind of grass on the skin in this area to protect the infant from various digestive complications. The child thus treated, the mother will begin to supplement breast feedings with rice water, milky white in appearance, that is spooned out of the boiling pot of rice. Sometime later, before the child is about one, bits of sweet potato and special kinds of fish mashed between the fingers are thrust into the mouth of the infant as he sits on his mother's lap at mealtime. Gradually he is given more and more solid foods until, finally, at the age of 2 he is eating rice, unmashed fish, potatoes and vegetables, but nursing is continued until 853
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855 the mother becomes pregnant. Usually, however, weaning is not started in earnest until the mother is three months pregnant.

• [262] If the infant has a fever or "bad color," he may be subjected to another painful experience, blood letting. Incisions are made on those parts of the body which are thought to be affected, and blood is drawn and caught in a cup. The area is washed with sake. The mother often suckles the baby and holds him while the grandmother or some other older person performs the operation.

854 Babies are diapered and swaddled until they are about a year old. For the first two months their wet and soiled diapers are changed frequently; however, as time goes on, less attention is paid to wet diapers, although those soiled from excreta are promptly changed. Infants are checked often during the raw winter days, but because they are bundled so heavily, there is hardly any danger of their contracting colds as their mothers fear. Severe urine burns and annoying diaper rash are more common than colds among young babies.

[164] Although care is taken to keep the infant as clean as possible during the first year of his life, this attitude changes as the child grows older.

[855] This is in large part due to the mother's inability to devote much time to her offspring once she has resumed full participation in economic activities. Depending on the season of the year, babies are bathed from every third or fourth day to once a week. They are bathed almost daily

[594] during the first two months of their lives as a result of the insistence of the village nurse. Water is heated on the kitchen hearth and poured into a small washpan. Mothers test the warmth of the water by immersing their arms up to the elbows and adding cold or hot water as they see fit. Soap is gently applied either with a soft washcloth or with the hands and rinsed off by splashing. On chilly winter days the bath takes place indoors, but on the hot sunny days it takes place right outside the kitchen door. In drying the baby, the mother places him in a large towel and pats the dampness from his body. She is careful to dry the skin at the joints where rash is likely to erupt. Except for the very poor, all families keep a bottle of talcum powder, which is applied right after the bath. Throughout the bath, the mother talks softly to the baby, smiling and tickling him. The atmosphere of the bath at this time contrasts sharply with that of a later time when the child is 2 and 3 years old.

[744] [855] 863 Although there is hardly any possibility that the infant at this time would be able to smear himself with excreta, the opportunity for doing so is present later when he no longer wears diapers but is still untrained. It rarely happens, as the child is almost constantly watched by a caretaker. One mother reported disgustedly that her infant smeared

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872 attempts to hold his hand over hers and he continues to beat out the
526 rhythm of the songs. While finishing the last song, she traces lines for the snail game on the sandy ground. A 5-year-old girl, singing the final words of the song, impatiently tugs at her hand. Taking the stick from her hand, the girl erases the teacher's lines and painstakingly tries to make a perfectly round spiral. She stands back to look at the finished "snail," hands the stick back to the teacher, and returns to her place.

[524] The snail game involves teams of two groups of children. One member of a group takes his position in the inner end of the spiral, while the other stands at the outer end. At a signal from the teacher, both run toward each other as fast as possible to cover as much of the length of the line as possible. When they meet, they play a game similar to the American "rock, paper, and scissors." The loser gives up his turn to another member of his group who has to start at the beginning of the opposite end while the winner runs from the point at which the "toss" took place. At the point of meeting, another toss takes place, and the first contestant to reach the opposite end of the spiral wins a point for his team.

Another favorite game of the kindergarten children is "choosing sides." Two mixed groups stand opposite each other and at the signal one group, hand in hand, moves forward, gaily kicking their feet toward the other members of their group. "We will take, Yoshiko," they sing as they swoop in a semicircle to encircle the chosen one, who attempts to run away while her group tries to run interference. Then the next group has a turn. There is no real "winning" in this game, but the children enjoy the united chasing and united defense.

872 After playing organized games from about 9:30 until 11:15, the
262 children are temporarily disbanded while the teacher goes to prepare the powdered milk, which the children look forward to eagerly. Often the promise of milk serves as a powerful incentive to attend kindergarten for even the most incorrigible renegade. The children all scatter to run home for their small tea cups in which the coveted drink is served. As the teacher approaches the banyan tree from her home, bucket of milk and dipper in hand, she smiles to see the two lines already formed. "Today, we will serve the girls first because the boys were first yesterday," she announces, and immediately there is a shout of disapproval from the boys and a few menacing scowls and upraised arms with clenched fists directed toward the girls. The little girls smile smugly back at the boys, and a few return the hostile threats. The most aggressive boys and girls soon become involved in a tussle, and the teacher serves notice that milk will be withdrawn for the day if order is not restored. The observer feels that in her reprimand to the

CHAPTER I: GEOGRAPHY

F. R. Pitts

131 Location Okinawa is a longish island, lying about halfway between Formosa and the southern tip of Kyushu. Together with clusters of islands lying both to the east and west, it forms the political unit known as Okinawa Gunto.

133 Along the axis of Okinawa, which trends from southwest to northeast, there is a fairly simple division into a plateau-and-mountain northern half, a central plateau area, and a low rolling southern knob. The Motobu peninsula juts westward from the northern, or Kunigami, half and forms a distinctive area. Between the Kunigami mountains and the peaks of Motobu lies the ricebowl of Okinawa---the Haneji lowland.

311 Arable Land In general it can be said that the farm population increases as one proceeds south. Map 2, showing the arable land under cultivation as a percentage of the total land area, illustrates this.¹

[137] Farms in the mountain and plateau north are found in incised V-shaped valleys. Water is plentiful, and rice paddies cover the valley floor. Villages hug the edges of the flat land, and incredibly small sweet-potato terraces rise [132] up the valley's edge. Atop the plateau one finds only silence, and a dense growth of trees and bamboo. Many of the people in the valleys are part-time foresters. The Motobu mountains guard from the frequent typhoons little settlements famed for growing the indigo plant and pineapples. The peninsula's north shore is a fertile but ever-narrowing extension of the Haneji lowland.

In the central plateau area---Nakagami---sweet-potato fields compete with scrubby forest for space on the plateau. Where sufficient water is available, rice fields cover the tiny valley floors and the low-lying coastal fringes. The triangular southern end of the island is known as Shimajiri in [139] popular terminology. Shimajiri is blessed with the greatest concentration of [132] fertile arable land on Okinawa. But the blessing is somewhat reduced by greater exposure to typhoons and a chronic water shortage. Sweet potatoes and sugar cane rank first among crops here.

311 Riceland Okinawans prefer to eat rice rather than sweet potatoes whenever possible. It is a paradox, however, that areas of greatest farm [132] population grow the least rice. The thinly populated north has the greatest amount of riceland. Map 3 charts the distribution of riceland---or flooded fields---on Okinawa. Even in the southern 'son' of Yonagusuku and Kanagusuku flooded fields often contain the mat rush rather than rice. It is a good cash crop, and is sturdier than rice when typhoons roar through the islands.

[128] The figures upon which the maps in this section and the population section are based are found in Appendix A. The figures for Japan and Kagoshima-ken are given for comparative purposes. Of all the prefectures in Japan, Kagoshima most nearly resembles Okinawa in climate and emphasis upon sweet potatoes as a staple food.

Population Density The pattern revealed in a map of population density---Map 161
 4---is approximately the same as that for percentage of arable land. It is somewhat complicated, however, by the urbanization that is going on in Nakagami. A more detailed discussion of the population movements responsible for this situation will be found in a later section of this report.

Farming Almost all of Okinawa's rural people farm, and many are engaged part 433
 time in home industries which utilize local products. Particularly 241
 noteworthy are the vegetable-producing areas. Kitanakagusuku and Ginowan 'sons' are centers of vegetable production for the American military forces.¹ The inland 'son' of Haeburu grows 53% of the gunto's tōgwa, a wax melon that is a favorite Okinawan food. [262]

One of the most remarkable agricultural areas, Tomigusuku, lies south of the Maha-Mawashi-Oroku urban complex. It grows many kinds of vegetables for the cities, and ranks high in other production. Tomigusuku stands first in the gunto in acreage of green beans, muskmelons, bananas and eggplant. Almost one-fifth of the latter comes from here. It ranks second in tomatoes, and ties with Yonagusuku for second place in weight of mat reeds produced. Miya, in the far south, leads the gunto in soybean acreage, while Nishihara occupies a similar position in acreage planted to pumpkins.

The most remarkable 'son' in northern Okinawa is Nakiijin on the north shore of Motobu peninsula. It leads in gunto acreage of sweet potatoes, leaf tobacco (75.2%), and cucumbers. In animals it leads in numbers of pigs and ducks. It also produces 75% of the banana cloth, or 'bashōfu', of the gunto. This 'son' is mainland Okinawa's chief wheat producer. [231] [235]

The small Okinawan acreage of Irish potatoes is found in Ōgimi-son to the northeast. Yabu is noted for its pickled giant radishes, or 'takuan'. The offshore islands lead in certain special crops. Minami Daitō leads in sugar cane, wheat and barley. Ie Shima seconds in barley, and Izena seconds in wheat. Ie Shima is far ahead in acreage of Irish beans, or 'azuki', accounting for 41% of the gunto's planted acreage of this crop. Though Ie Shima ranks only 15th in soybean acreage, it produces almost a fifth (18.4%) of the gunto's 'miso', in which soybeans are used as a base. 'Miso' making is one of the main home industries on the island. Ie Shima, Kamimotobu and Nakiijin retain some of the old 'awa' (German millet) complex, between them accounting for over a third (34.5%) of the acreage of that crop in Okinawa gunto. Kamimotobu is mainland Okinawa's leader in acreage planted to ordinary millet ('kibi'; Panicum millicum). [254]

Nakagami has little of agricultural distinction. Yomitan leads the mainland in acres of barley and number of rabbits. Gushikawa is second rank in sweet potato acreage, but produces about two-fifths (39.4%) of the gunto's sweet potato starch. It leads in numbers of goats, and is second though not outstanding in numbers of bullocks. [23]

¹ Most of this and following paragraphs derive from Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku and Okinawa guntō no tembō. Some is based on personal observation and interviewing. [127]

military competes with sugar as a primary cash crop, and cane fields are being converted back to rice paddies as fast as the farmer's resources permit. A more detailed discussion of the crop changes in the last two or three decades follows. 175
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Chronology of Change in Crops The major changes in crops revolve chiefly around the replacement of rice as a cash crop by sugar cane, and the later reversal of this situation. About fifty years ago, rice was the chief cash crop. It was rarely consumed in the home, but was sold in order to meet the monetary expenses of taxes, and to buy occasionally the new commodities that were beginning to appear in the markets. Then, not long after the Russo-Japanese war had ended, the price of black sugar jumped almost overnight from ¥8.50 to ¥64 for a 150-'kin' barrel. Everyone wanted to get a share of this boom in sugar, and most began to convert paddy land into 'hatake' for the growing of cane. They were stuck with the 'hatake' when the price fell after two months. The Japanese subsidized sugar later, however, and most of the land that had been converted remained sugar land. [654]

When the people began returning to their farms more than a year after the end of World War II hostilities, there was little market for sugar. The subsidy had gone with defeat, and providentially the sugar lands were available for the growing of more sweet potatoes. American canned food and sweet potatoes were the main items of diet until about 1949. Gradually farmers began to convert 'hatake' to paddy fields, and to grow rice again---this time less for sale than for home consumption. [202]
[177]

The old "bearded rice" varieties (fijinē and mēdakōja) of the nineteenth century were replaced gradually by the shorter-statured but higher-yielding 'hōraimai'. The bearded rice, planted only once a year, had a yield of about one-third the present variety, and had only five or six stalks per plant. The twice a year modern variety yields more and has on the average fourteen to fifteen stalks per plant. As a result of the adoption of the two-crop variety, at least one traditional ceremony was abandoned. This was the tantui, in which the whole village participated before simultaneously planting their seedbeds. Before the war, two-thirds of Okinawa's rice requirements were imported.¹ Indicative of the postwar change to rice are the figures for area of paddy-fields in Kochinda-son; the 114,142 'tsubo' of paddy in February of 1948 had increased to 306,220 'tsubo' by September of 1952. Field investigation proved that conversion to paddy has proceeded at least as fast since 1952 as it did prior to that date. 175
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Before the First World War almost everyone in Nanahan raised forty to fifty 'tsubo' of millet. It was boiled with glutinous rice to make millet rice-cakes, or 'awamochi'. None is raised now. The same is true of cotton. "It grew only a foot high, but its fiber was very strong and would last a lifetime." Some other crops lasted into the post-war period. Until about 1950 textile bananas and yams were raised in Nanahan, but they both proved to be too weak in typhoons, and their cultivation was abandoned. 178
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¹ Summation....July-November 1946, p. 25.

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Before the war Okinawa imported half its soybean requirements. By early 1951 the prewar acreage had been cut by half.¹ This resulted in the necessity to import soy sauce tax-free from Japan, which brought an ineffective protest from the Legislature early in 1954. 'Miso' paste, which is made of soybeans when they are available, is now made also of corn, broad beans, kidney beans, and various other legumes.

As early as 1946 the occupation forces reported:

Rapid restoration of Okinawa's prewar agriculture is hampered chiefly by an arable land shortage induced by military requirements in the southern half of the island, where roughly 30,000 acres are devoted to military use. War damage and migration from combat and, later, base development areas seriously disrupted agrarian economy and early planning was delayed pending disposition of farm tracts affected by military expansion.²

That loss of both upland dry fields and paddy land was affected is shown by the following:³ (figures are in 1,000's of acres)

Table II

Type of Land	1940 Acreage	1950 Acreage	% of 1940
Cultivated land	103.8	57.2	65%
Paddy land	11.5	9.6	83%
Upland fields	92.3	57.6	62%

Even more significant is a comparison of the 1940-1950 figures with those for 1904, which show the situation which existed before any Japanese military installations were built.

Table III⁴

Year	Acres Paddy Land	Acres Dry Fields	Total Arable Acres
1904	15,779.1	93,952.6	109,731.7
1940	11,527.25	82,273.86	93,801.11
1950	9,559.55	57,610.16	67,169.72

¹ Ryukyu Islands Economic Statistics Bulletin, no. 10, January-March, 1951.

² Summation...op. cit., p. 26.

³ Ryukyu..., p. 13.

⁴ The 1904 data are from Summary of the Land Adjustment in Okinawa Prefecture, Tokyo, 1904. The 1940 and 1950 figures are from the reverse side of the large map, Okinawa shotō shōzu.

Land Ownership and Rental Although Nanahan has only twenty-three houses, the land register lists thirty-five land owners. Two of these are persons who are tenants and who own only the houselots where they live. In addition, three other families live in Nanahan, owning neither houselot nor land, but renting both from the owner. Five families have moved to urban areas, but have kept the land, and have rented it out, chiefly to the settlers in the community. Of the five, one had never owned a houselot. Two sold their houselots and one rented his house out. The remaining one rented his houselot, which was later converted by the tenant into a dry field. 423 427

There is almost no one in Nanahan who is neither a renter nor a rentee. Ten of the registered land owners are minors, most of whom have inherited land from their fathers who were killed in the invasion. Two are sons of the leading landowner, who has apparently registered part of his land in his sons' names to avoid heavy taxes.

The annual rent for grassland in Nanahan is ¥0.30, or thirty 'sen', per 'tsubo'. In the one 'genya' sale for which information was available, a doctor living in Kochinda village sold a Nanahan man 1,000 'tsubo' for a total of ¥3,000. Dry land, or 'hatake', rents for ¥2 per 'tsubo', although better and more fertile land may command a higher rental. Riceland is not rented out for money, but for a portion of the crop. Under the most usual arrangement the renter keeps three-fifths of the crop and delivers to the owner the remaining two-fifths. The renter must furnish all the manure, fertilizer, and labor. The Nanahan land register records nine plots as having been sold since 1947. 423 427 435

The Nanahan farmers say that the best thing the military ever did was to order in 1947 the making of a land survey and the drawing of land ownership maps. They said it is very effective in protecting boundaries and preventing quarrels. 423

3. Diet

Although daily Okinawan cuisine is in general very similar to that of Japan, some difference is seen in the dependence on the sweet potato, and the use of pork. Feast foods have more local flavor and are considerably different from those of Japan. The frequent typhoons occasionally cause temporary famine, and it is during the famines that Okinawan food and food substitutes differ most from Japanese standards. Finally, one major point of difference is in the use of sugar in the household; three centuries of experience with the crop has given rise to many traits and patterns centered around the use of sugar in the home. These four categories are discussed in this section on diet. 262 171 [263]

Ordinary Food The typical Okinawan breakfast is generally boiled sweet potatoes ('imo'), 'miso' (soybean paste) soup and vegetables. The noon meal is boiled sweet potatoes, noodles, and vegetables. The evening meal consists usually of boiled rice, 'miso' soup and vegetables. The most frequently consumed vegetables are mustard cabbage, Chinese cabbage, green onions, wax melon, giant radish, chopped dried radish, carrots and cabbage. Other foods added as occasional variety are wheat fluff, seaweed, soybean curd, and canned fish. 262

- 262 Sea food eaten differs by the season. Most available in summer are bonito and the sea turtle. Common in October and later are seabream, whitefish, and globefish. Canned mackerel is by far the most common fish food eaten, and seaweed is a staple in all but the poorest homes. Though every [252] adult in the village speaks Okinawan by preference in everyday life, even the old people rarely know the dialect names for various fish, "because we are so far from the sea." The nearest coast is less than three airline miles away. Before the war most of the fish consumed was bought in Itoman, but with the removal of the railroad and the orientation of bus traffic toward Naha, very little is purchased in Itoman.

- 252 The entire day's supply of sweet potatoes, for man and beast, is prepared by boiling in early morning in a large pot. It takes about an hour to boil fifty pounds. Those for human consumption are placed on top, with those for the animals underlying them. Naturally those eaten by the pigs and other [231] animals are the less beautiful, and often slightly rotten ones. When the family eats 'imo', they peel off both the outer and inner skins and give them to the animals. They realize that the inner skin contains vitamins, but it is too much trouble to peel separately. People regard baked 'imo' as more delicious than boiled, but do not make them in Nanahan as a rule due to shortage of fuel. The children often stick 'imo' right into the fire while their mothers are boiling 'imo' for the day. Sometimes children under ten [352] years of age make baked 'imo' when they collect trash and burn it. When they do this is not determined, but occurs as the children suddenly decide there is enough trash to burn.

- 242 'O-kazu' (Okinawan: katimau) refers in Nanahan to any dish whose basic [252] ingredients are lard, soy sauce, and 'aji-no-moto' (monosodium glutamate). It is generally made about two times a week. First lard is put in a pan. Then either raw 'daikon' or 'sengei' (dried and shredded 'daikon') is added, together with globe onions. Soy sauce is then added, and the mixture salted to taste. If meat is available, it is put in as soon as the lard is melted. 'Aji-no-moto' is added just before serving.

- 252 The making of 'miso' paste is a home task for the women and girls. The amount made depends on the weather. Good weather for proper mildewing is generally found in the spring and autumn. At the equinoxes, when most of the 'miso' is made if people have a choice in the matter, mildewing takes two or three days. The process involves two steps---the making of malt ('kōji') and the making of soybean flour or paste. For malt one must use broad beans, wheat or barley, kidney beans or, infrequently, soybeans. The malt materials are boiled until the skins come off. Then they are drained, spread out on a straw mat inside the house, and dusted with wheat flour. Rice straw is spread over the mixture to form a hotbed. When the mildew starts the mixture turns yellow, and is then spread out to dry in the sun. When dry it is stored in a box, to be mixed with soybean flour or paste later. The latter is very easily made. Boiled soybeans are ground up in a meat grinder, and dried. The flour may be stored separately, but it is most often mixed immediately with an equal amount of malt. To prevent spoiling, about three parts salt are added [251] to ten of the mixture, now called 'miso'. It is put into a pot for "ripening" during the next six months, and then is used gradually. If stored longer than one year it loses its taste.

'Miso' is used not only in soups, but as a flavoring for other dishes. Jushime is rice fried in oil and 'miso', with green onions added. Tôfu-champuru is made by putting shredded bonito and hot lard in a pan, adding a little 'miso' and some soy sauce, and one-inch cubes of bean curd, or 'tôfu'. 'Tôfu' was eaten about every three days in Nanahan before the war, and every day about twenty peddlers from Tsukazan went through the countryside selling it. It is eaten not oftener than once a month now.

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A strong rice drink, 'awamori', is in evidence at all parties. It is sometimes diluted with orange soda, but more often it is served full-strength flavored with either garlic or red peppers. Before the war the refuse from making 'awamori', called kashiiji, was very cheap---about two gallons could be had for fifteen sen---and was generally fed to pigs. However, it also furnished the base for kashi-jô-êi, made by pouring hot water on half-boiled spinach or Swiss chard, and adding the liquid from the refuse. It was said to have been very good for the stomach.

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Feast Foods When a person reaches the age of 61, 73, or 85, a celebration known as tushibii is held. This is the occasion for a feast of whatever proportions the extended family's budget can afford. In the spring of 1954 a Nanahan lady who was a member of the dominant family reached seventy-three. The following was served at the feast:

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- Paddy taro boiled in sugar syrup
- Soup containing 'konnyaku', pork, tripe, goat meat and ginger
- Giant radish and carrots, shredded in vinegar
- Several slices of fried bean curd
- Fish cake
- Deep-fried sugar batter
- A dish of 'konnyaku', 'daikon', pork and shredded radish
- Deep-fried whale tripe in peanut butter sauce
- Red rice; noodle soup
- Fried bean curd and pork, with seaweed

In addition, guests were given two boxes to take home, which contained the following:

- Two pieces of pork
- 1 piece fried bean curd
- Two pieces of fish, deep-fried in batter
- 1 piece of pork heart
- Two pieces of fish cake
- A red-dyed hard-boiled egg
- Two pieces of burdock root, deep-fried in batter
- Two pieces of sweet pound cake
- Two pieces of kujimuchi (a rice cake)
- Two large pieces of deep fried sugar batter
- One deep-fried flour dumpling
- Five cakes of baked rice flour, in shapes of the pine, bamboo, plum, crane, and tortoise---symbols of longevity.

- 261 Famine Food and Wartime Substitutes The standard famine foods on Okinawa
 • 262 have always been dried sweet potato chips or refuse from the making of starch, sago palm nuts and the pulp of the same palm. The latter two are eaten with restraint, as they contain small amounts of an alkaloid poison. The sweet potato materials are made into soups, [252] and the sago palm provides a type of flour for deep frying, or 'tempura'.
- [37] During the last war, soups were also made from the stem of the plant Ligularia Kaempferia, known as 'tsuwabuki' in Japanese, and chiipappā in Okinawan. One Nanahan farmer related, "The chiipappā which I ate in Kin-son during the war was delicious, and one felt better after eating it. When I came back here, I tried our local variety, but it is bitter and inedible." The giant African snail was used to alleviate famine just before the invasion. [252] It was boiled in its shell, then de-shelled and the "snail juice" washed out with a bitter orange called shiisā. The meat was then fried with vegetables and the white part of a leek.
- 273 Japanese soldiers during the war taught the Okinawans how to make a
 197 strong liquor from sugar cane, as no real 'sake' or 'awamori' was then available. Tobacco was also scarce, and pine tree bark was substituted. Some people preferred to smoke the leaves of the 'mogusa' plant, which is also used for cautery. One very poor family in Nanahan still retains the practice. Tea could not be bought in the late pre-invasion period, and the beans of the lantern bush furnished a palatable substitute.
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- 263 Uses of Sugar in the Home When a guest calls at an Okinawan farmer's home, [574] he is served tea, black sugar chunks, and quite often 'awamori'. Many other uses were related. It is used in batter for deep [757] frying; for cure of headache, sickness, and fainting spells; for a hangover; and when food is not delicious.

444 the bulldozer had done the basic shaping of the field, a new member of the
 [445] 'han' was hired to finish the pounding of the paddy walls. He was paid ¥900
 [446] for six days' work, and was required to provide his own lunch. His employer
 had spent the first year after the war in Hokkaido, working for no money but
 receiving one 'shō' (3.18 pints) of rice a day. Later he rented a horse and
 cart from its owner at ¥60 a day and pocketed anything above that amount that
 he earned. During planting and harvest season he worked in the rice fields.

Horses are rented out by their owners to other people, but when a cow
 445 is rented the owner's services are always included. No farmer trusts anyone
 426 else with his cow. A man-and-cow hire out for ¥250-300 a day, depending on
 435 the distance they must travel. A horse is most often rented to pull the sweep
 379 of a rotary sugar-press, and is paid according to the amount of juice of black
 299 sugar produced. Various prices are quoted. ¥100 is paid for each 'chō' (100
 kin, or 132 pounds) of black sugar produced. One farmer charges for the use
 of his horse a flat rate of ¥1 for each gallon of juice squeezed. Another
 charges ¥60 for 50 gallons of juice if the renter lives in Nanahan or close by,
 and ¥70 if he lives farther away. Horses were scarce the first year after the
 war, and fifteen men together pulled the sweeps of the rotary presses.

444 Buying of Labor and Services Many times farmers have need of a great amount
 575 of labor in a short period of time. Then they
 are most likely to call upon the services of the young people's group, the
 'seinendan'. One Nanahan farmer in 1952 had this group make a paddy field
 for him from a dry field. In 1953 another farmer had the group make a 300
 'tsubo' dry field for him out of 'arechi', or war-destroyed land. The
 'seinendan' also hires its members out to work for people who need help in
 the busy season. The following daily wage rates were quoted: women and new
 [445] members, ¥40; men of 18 and 19 years, ¥50; and men of 20 years and above, ¥60.

445 Abolition of the stringent Japanese regulations compelling farmers
 [446] to raise sugar has resulted in the reconversion of many sugar fields to rice
 [447] paddies. At first this was done exclusively by hand labor, but now bull-
 [448] dozers are more in favor. One farmer had 420 'tsubo' of dry land converted
 [449] into paddy at a total cost for bulldozer leveling of ¥6,300. The rate for
 machine and operator was ¥600 an hour. The farmer owns 450 tsubo more of
 paddy, which provides rice for one meal a day. With this newly-converted
 • [450] field he plans to have his family eat rice twice daily. Labor charges for
 finishing the new paddy will run about ¥4,000, according to estimate.

One of his relatives is a repatriate from the hemp-growing colony at
 Davao, in the Philippines. This man bought land from a villager who was dis-
 satisfied with country life, and hired a bulldozer to convert it to paddy.
 [451] For conversion of 816 tsubo he paid bulldozer charges of ¥12,000 and ¥8,000
 additional for labor. He had bought the dry land ('hatake') originally for
 ¥65 per tsubo.

About the only other service regularly engaged is the hulling and
 polishing of rice. Nanahan people take their threshed rice to a neighboring
 village where there is a 'seimaisho' (rice-cleaning mill), and pay only cash
 for the service. They return home with the polished rice and the bran, or

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[Kitazato]

621 the houses are the same small, poorly-built structures of thatch and scrap
 735 lumber that are found on the beach. By way of contrast, the house which
 [342] the author rented in Kanegusuku was the poorest and shabbiest in that vil-
 [184] lage; yet, the same house in Kitazato would easily have been the best.
 Shabby appearances are not limited to houses, for the people too are more
 poorly dressed than elsewhere on Okinawa.

621 Food Nearly everywhere on Okinawa the authors heard that the peo-
 511 ple are eating better today than before the war; such is not the case for
 Kitazato, and the villagers are most emphatic about this. Potatoes, beans,
 262 and other vegetable products form the mainstay of their diet; often times,
 they say, potatoes are dug up before they are fully mature, so great is the
 pressure for food. It is the opinion of the local agricultural office that
 the people are slowly starving to death, and the villagers state that they
 are always hungry. The local storekeepers say that the people do not have
 enough money to buy canned foods to supplement their diet. Though Hama is
 [226] virtually on the water the villagers do no fishing since the occupation is
 regarded as a foreign one; however, some shell fish are collected by the
 women.

621 Exodus of Youth One of the marked features of the village is the
 511 general absence of young men and women in the fifteen to twenty-five age
 166 group, for as soon as the student completes junior high school, he or she
 heads for the city seeking employment. A number of the families in the vil-
 lage are said to subsist mainly on the money which their children send back.
 According to the mayor 61 families have left the village since the end of
 the war; he feels that if they had not left, things would be much worse.
 Most of those who left were families containing grown children who could
 work; the parents in some cases were reluctant to leave, but their children
 were anxious to leave. A slight decline in military employment in early
 1954 resulted in several of these families' returning to the village, and
 the mayor was apprehensive lest more return.

621 One characteristic of the population of this village which struck
 847 the author was the disproportionate number of females to males in the age
 group under five years. In this group there were 64 males and 33 females,
 whereas the groups above were more nearly proportionate. Female infanti-
 cide has been a common occurrence during times of famine or under conditions
 of extreme poverty in Japan and China, and the authors heard several stories
 giving some evidence of it on Okinawa. No factual evidence of any sort was
 gathered by the author in Kitazato to corroborate this interpretation of
 the statistics; however, the fact that the permanent resettlement of the
 village in its present locations took place approximately six years ago in
 1948 may lend some credence to this interpretation.

621 Attitude toward Americans The villagers' initial reaction to the
 829 presence of the author in the village was one of fear and veiled hostility.
 Gradually this was overcome, and good rapport was established. During one
 [123] of his last visits to the community the author was told, "The first day you
 were in the village everyone wondered if the military were going to make us
 move again. No one slept that night." At the same time the villagers are

CHAPTER IX: HEALTH

W. P. Suttles

121 This chapter will begin with a section on the human body---attitudes
 128 toward and practices concerned with its care and its functions. This will
 be followed by a section on sanitation---attitudes and practices. A third
 section will deal with concepts of the supernatural and their relationship
 to illness. A fourth will describe the various types of "medical" practi-
 tioners found in Okinawan society, and Okinawan attitudes toward modern
 medicine. It will be seen that this chapter contains much that is often
 described under the heading "Religion" or even "Values" and contains little
 on the actual state of health and incidence of disease among the Okinawans.
 But we believe that this is as it should be in a report on Okinawan culture.
 That sanitation is poor and disease is prevalent is no doubt all too apparent
 to the medical observer. A detailed study of the diseases themselves must
 be made by research workers competent in that field. A study of native cul-
 ture, however, reveals some of the underlying causes of poor sanitation and
 poor health. We feel therefore that this is a valid unit and properly put
 under the title "Health".

1. The Human Body: Practices and Attitudes

261 Eating and Drinking Okinawans enjoy food and drink and make numerous events
 the occasion for their enjoyment. Questions about holi-
 days frequently soon elicit long descriptions of the types of dishes appro-
 priate to each. To a Westerner the variety may not seem great, but to the
 Okinawans a slight difference in the consistency of a soup may call for a
 • 262 differentiating term. The variety of foods is probably as great as it can
 be within the limits of Okinawan resources. Foods are valued differently.
 [71] Rice ranks high, sweet potatoes low. Pork is esteemed, as in China but not
 in Japan.

264 Three meals a day is usual. Rice, soup, and boiled foods are served
 in bowls, fried foods in flat dishes. These are eaten with chopsticks. The
 bowl may be held in the hand near the mouth; soup may be drunk directly from
 it. Some foods, such as noodles, are habitually sucked up with considerable
 noise. This noise is neither made purposely nor is it avoided; it just does
 not matter. Children may bolt their food without being scolded for it, but
 adults seem to have no compulsion to eat fast, as the Japanese are said to
 have. On festive occasions men are served in the first room, women in the
 [574] second. On these occasions a portion may be served already in a box so that
 it may be taken home. On ordinary occasions the family may eat together,
 though women often eat in the kitchen by the oven. Conversation of both
 [521] light and serious matter may accompany eating. Serving food is essential
 [574] to the entertainment of guests and to the payment of social debts.

273 Drink is also essential to entertainment. Tea is drunk first thing
 [272] in the morning and at any time of the day or evening. But for men something
 stronger is also desirable. Usually it is the clear, strong, distilled drink

000 custom in the country. Hair styles vary according to age, sex, and status.
 302 All boys up to junior high school age usually have shaved heads. During the high school and junior high school years they allow the hair to grow and become quite long. This style is retained until middle age, though often it is somewhat shorter than during the school years. Old and middle-aged men generally wear their hair closely cropped. Young girls through the junior high school age wear their hair in a short bobbed style with bangs, typical of the Japanese school girl. In high school and thereafter the young woman allows her hair to grow a little longer; the bangs grow out and the permanent wave is frequently adopted. After marriage and in middle age a woman is most likely to wear her hair drawn back and tied in a bun. Older women retain the old Okinawan styles, and a few use the long hairpin as mentioned above.

[178] Prewar movies and pictures of Okinawa indicate most men were bearded, but today all are clean-shaven except for a few very old men.

- 178 Diet With few exceptions most Okinawans state that they are eating
 • 262 better foods and a greater variety of these than before the war. This is attributed to several factors. Sweet potatoes and vegetables formed the bulk of the prewar diet, and there was little money available for food purchases. More land is devoted to food production today than in the prewar period when sugar was the chief crop. There were food shortages throughout the Japanese Empire beginning with the Chinese war in 1937; these shortages gradually increased and became severe. After the war most Okinawans lived on American [179] canned foods for several years; canned foods were served in the civilian internment camps and later formed the bulk of the food ration. A number of [454] people asserted that this experience created a taste for other foods. Lastly the farm people have more money to spend today.

- 179 Stores in the towns and cities contain a wide variety of canned
 262 American and European foods, not to mention an even greater supply of canned Japanese foods. The important factor is that none of the American or European canned goods were available before the war. Even in the village stores American flour, Coca Cola and other carbonated and non-carbonated beverages, condensed milk, candy, gum, and cigarettes can be obtained today. American foods are said to be far superior to Japanese and Okinawan foods, but most are too expensive for the average family. American tea bags, which often contain an Indian tea far inferior to the Japanese teas, are considered the height of elegance. However, many of the adopted foods are used in a manner considerably different from customary American usage. Pitts was served french-fried whale intestines dipped in peanut butter, and mayonnaise was observed in use as [272] cooking fat. It is widely believed that some of the American soft drinks contain real fruit juices and are excellent for the health. The author was informed that people sometimes take these when they do not feel too well.

- 178 For the majority of villagers Japanese and Okinawan foods still con-
 262 stitute the bulk of the diet, although they say that they now enjoy a greater variety of these. Rice is more commonly eaten than before, but there is a greater reliance on prepared foods of the sort which cannot be made in the village or which they are no longer inclined to prepare themselves. Canned mackerel (selling for about 17 cents per can) is now a staple item in many

households. Noodles are another item of regular purchase. Starch and bean paste are typical items which formerly were always made in the home but now may be purchased instead. 178 262

In sum Okinawan diet has improved in quantity and variety. Food tastes are more catholic today; certain foreign foods are greatly appreciated. There is a greater reliance on manufactured and processed foods, and greater cash expenditures are made for food.

Entertainment and Leisure There has been a marked decline in village celebrations and festivals in which all residents participate. Formerly O Bon, New Year's, and harvesting time were occasions for village-wide celebrations; today these are gone from most communities; celebrations are restricted to the family and friends. Most of the village celebrations were basically religious in nature and with the decline of the old religion these celebrations have been dropped. 527 796 178 621

Parties to mark an individual's change of status were formerly held on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 48th, 61st, 73rd, 85th, 88th and 97th birthdays, but today only those for the old people are observed. Frequently a party is held to mark an individual's success in the competitive examination to enter high school, but aside from that, rites of passage for the young and middle-aged are no longer observed. 527 178

The Japanese introduced one form of entertainment which has achieved immense popularity; this is a sporting event sponsored by the school. These are usually held on Sunday during the fall of the year, and usually the whole school participates. There is intra-school competition and later inter-school; intense interest is generated and often this becomes an important topic for conversation among the young men. 526 177

Local units of the national organizations such as the youths' association and the women's association frequently hold parties for their members. In fact these organizations are mainly of a social nature. 525

As noted above, prior to the war there were five motion picture theaters on Okinawa; today there are fifty-seven. American and European films constitute from one quarter to one third of the total shown. Though most of these theaters are located in the cities and towns, the young people of the nearby farming villages make frequent use of them. The popularity of the American "Western" among the young people has caused some to attribute juvenile delinquency to this, although the relatively more bloody Japanese sword-fighting pictures ('chambara') are considered harmless. 546 177

The popularity of Okinawan dancing and music seems undiminished. Radio broadcasts of Okinawan music are much enjoyed; and virtually every party provides the opportunity for music and dancing in which most of the guests participate. A few of the better-educated young people profess an appreciation of Western classical music and jazz, but most of them prefer Japanese and American love ballads though they still remain very fond of the Okinawan music. 533 535 177